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Alliance gets down to military brass tacks

Never has the split between the Americans and the Europeans been as wide as it now appears.

Differences are no longer limited to strategic or financial details. They now question basic political attitudes.

At the Munich military affairs conference, military men and even disarmament experts showed that they were able to reach an understanding far more easily than the politicians.

The politicians must, after all, take into account voters' views.

Americans found the Europeans to be what Senator Tower called nostalgic about detente.

Europeans felt that the Americans gave an impression of conducting a moral crusade.

So it is not surprising that opinions about what goes to make up detente and defence needs were so different.

What came as a surprise was that the Americans appeared in Munich in such superior political force and how uniformly and determinedly they voiced their views and demands.

Defence Secretary Weinberger and Nato C-in-C General Rogers, Senators Tower, Cohen and Glenn and Ambassador Kampelmann, chief US delegate at the Helsinki review talks in Madrid: they all sounded the same note.

On the German side Hans Apel, Horst Ehmke, Peter Corterier, Friedrich

IN THIS ISSUE

Zimmermann and Alois Mertes had a hard time of it, especially as they did not agree among themselves.

The Americans made it clear what would shortly be coming Europe's way from the other side of the Atlantic: calls for a higher defence contribution, for stricter checks on trade with the East Bloc and for a tougher attitude towards the Soviet Union.

Some of this is doubtless warranted, some overshoots the mark. The dispute over a common approach is sure to impose a fresh burden on Nato.

It is already clear that the Nato summit in Bonn in June will have much in common with a volcano even if the worst eruptions do not occur.

Defence Secretary Weinberger and Nato's General Rogers in particular poured boiling lava at the Europeans' feet. General Rogers' call for a four-per-cent real increase in defence spending is based on entirely sensible reasons.

If Nato is to avoid the dilemma of either starting a nuclear war or capitulating in the event of hostilities, it has no choice but to reinforce its conventional forces. But General Rogers failed to say where the money was to come from with Europe suffering from the high pressure of US interest rates, with recession and unemployment debilitating European industry and with restrictions on trae with the East Bloc imposing additional burdens.

His slogan is make sacrifices now and enjoy peace later. Politicians on this side of the Atlantic are not going to feel it is a vote-winner, especially as views differ on how seriously the Soviet danger is taken.

Many on this side of the Atlantic see no need for a drastic increase in US defence spending, still less why they should be asked to help foot the bill.

Mr Weinberger's hint that latent isolationism in the United States could experience a revival if Europe were not to shoulder a fair share of the burden was thus not felt to be helpful.

Neither was Senator Glenn's announcement that in this case Congress might feel obliged to vote in favour of a withdrawal of US troops from Europe.

To many European ears statements such as these are felt to be barely concealed threats the effect of which could be to intensify a defiant reaction that already prompts them to say: "Go right ahead!"

There can be no dismissing out of hand US suspicions that the Soviet Union is gaining access via Western trade with the East Bloc to Western technology.

The Americans are worried this technology will enable the Russians to perfect their armaments and force the East to stop up arms efforts.

Yet coordinated trade policies, to use the term coined by Nato Secretary-General Joseph Luns, must not have the odium of being seemingly intended to force the East Bloc on to its knees.

Neither must America's objections to the German pipleines-for-natural gas deal with the Soviet Union. Comments such as Mr Kampelmann's that detente is not a reality are hard to reconcile with European experience.

Cold war did not stop the Soviet Union from gaining strength; detente on the other hand caused Russia some embarrassment. So, as Horst Ehmke put it,

The Europeans still feel it would be

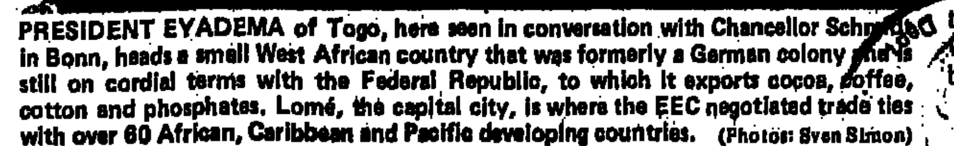
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American Secretary of State Haig and Bonn Foreign Minister Genscher together in Madrid as the Helsinki review talks resumed.



PRESIDENT EYADEMA of Togo, here seen in conversation with Chancellor Schmidt in Bonn, heads a small West African country that was formerly a German colony and is still on cordial terms with the Federal Republic, to which it exports cocoa, coffee, cotton and phosphates. Lomé, the capital city, is where the EEC negotiated trade ties with over 60 African, Caribbean and Pacific developing countries. (Photos: Sven Simon)



Fate of Madrid talks hangs in the balance



The fate of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe hangs by a thread in Madrid. Better known as the Helsinki process, the CSCE dates back to the August 1975 Helsinki accords.

In Madrid, where the second Helsinki review conference has just about got back into swing after its Christmas recess, the East-West clash could hardly have been more pointed.

The Soviet invasion of Afghanistan at the end of December 1979 led to a smouldering crisis, but the imposition of martial law in Poland, a European state and a party to the Helsinki accords, has jeopardised further cooperation.

All that was surprising was the East Bloc reaction to massive attacks on the military regime in Warsaw and on the Soviet Union by virtually all spokesmen for free countries in Europe.

The entire East Bloc has Bonn Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher to thank for the Helsinki review conference not yet having been abandoned.

If the Helsinki review conference were discontinued there would be little or no basis for the European disarmament and security conference currently envisaged.

Besides, the Geneva superpower talks on medium-range missiles in Europe, the first session of which was held on 30 November last, would no longer be in keeping with the US and Soviet strategic concepts.

This would be very much to the detriment of people in Europe. The lights would go out and cold war would be back promptly and with a vengeance.

H. J. Weiand

(Rheinische Post, 15 February 198

■ WORLD AFFAIRS

A glance behind the veil of rhetoric

A superficial observer might well shudder at the unpleasantness, barely concealed by diplomatic niceties, between Bonn and Washington.

He would have every justification in thinking that there was no agreement about Poland.

But a closer look reveals that the differences are not really so important.

It is true that President Reagan is giving the Soviet leaders and the Polish military council a piece of his mind.

But the sanctions he has actually applied are only half hearted.

They look like political cosmetics mainly for domestic consumption. Yet Washington accuses Europe of not being hard enough.

Mr Reagan has made do with a handful of export restrictions that will not hurt the Soviet Union, and a dubious propaganda film.

These restrictions will not seriously affect the US economy either. Mr Reagan has wisely steered clear of a grain embargo, one of the best bows in his quiver.

He is reluctant to upset US farmers, which shows that his foreign policy manoeuvring is mainly motivated by domestic policy considerations.

That is why the *International Herald Tribune* has thrown the ball back in the Reagan administration's court. "The Administration may sound a harsh note, but words are not followed by deeds," it says, and it is fair comment.

True, Mr Reagan is outraged whenever he feels the occasion warrants it, but his anger is little more than a pinprick to the Russian bear.

President Mitterrand of France when he feels so inclined, likes playing the impassioned accuser who gives the men in the Kremlin and the Polish military council short shrift.

Yet he too has concluded a natural gas deal with the Soviet Union, and since the establishment of military dictatorship in Poland, not beforehand, as in the German's case.

Bonn Chancellor Helmut Schmidt, on the other hand, is much more moderate in the note he sounds than either Mr Reagan or M. Mitterrand.

He keeps a careful check on his choice of words and in his economic and industrial policies does just the same as the more volatile Frenchman, who decided to sound a more aggressive note.

There are grounds for suspicion that Washington and Paris are well able to distinguish between word and deed and that their two Presidents realise they will best appeal to voters by sounding the drum while leaving no stone unturned that might be in their national interests.

Mr Reagan must bear in mind the farmers whose votes he needs. M. Mitterrand must recall the traditional basic sentiment of the French, who continue to be impressed by the catchphrases of the French Revolution, while taking care not to harm the hard-hit French economy.

Helmut Schmidt, by contrast, is reluctant to abandon an *Ostpolitik* that has brought the Federal Republic and Berlin a number of benefits.

What, then, is the difference between these three leaders who seem unable to find a common denominator on Poland?

Basically, it is that Mr Reagan and M. Mitterrand tend to over-react, whereas Herr Schmidt and Bonn tend to under-react. But in their analysis of the situation there is very little to choose between them.

On specific issues their points of difference are minor. None wants to end any last prospect of progress in Ostpolitik. But there can be no denying the substantial difference between public statements in Washington, Paris and Bonn, for what that matters (and it isn't much).

Yet the repercussions on public opinion in Germany are devastating. The coalition is in no mood to abandon its restraint, but this lays it open to constant sniping by an Opposition that tries to out do Mr Reagan and M. Mitterrand.

The Bonn Opposition has less to contribute towards an objective differentiation of the situation than the American and French leaders, but that does not stop it from talking.

This is annoyingly characteristic of German politics. Both sides, government and Opposition, overstep the mark in polemics to an irresponsible extent, yet merely do so to conceal their own helplessness.

Even so, all concerned are well aware that President Kennedy's 1962 Cuba strategy, tried and tested, is still the only way in which Western aims can be achieved and the Soviet Union can be put in its place.

President Kennedy succeeded in preventing a Soviet build-up of Cuba as a missile base but studiously avoided humiliating Mr Khrushchev to the extent that the Soviet leader was no longer able to retreat.

Nikita Khrushchev was just able not to lose face while giving the crucial order for the Soviet missile transporters to turn back.

If fundamental Soviet security interests had been at stake in Cuba, Mr Kennedy would not have so easily emerged triumphant from his dramatic duel with the Soviet leader.

If there is one lesson to a learnt from history it is that a superpower will not, neither by massive reactions nor by grave threats, give up either actual or imagined security requirements.

Provided this lesson is learnt there is not much that can be done wrong in the current crisis, for which Moscow is to blame.

Helmut Bauer

(Nürnberger Nachrichten, 11 February 1982)

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more promising if the superpowers were to come to terms.

But arms control talks show how hard it is to restore a balance once disrupted. They are at present being made more difficult not by delaying tactics on Washington's part but by a Soviet bid to gain acceptance of Moscow's nuclear superiority in Europe and establish a potential for political blackmail.

A moratorium on stationing medium-range missiles in Europe would rule out any prospect of success at the talks. This at least is a point on which Americans and Germans are agreed, all except part of the Social Democrats.

Dieter Schröder

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, 16 February 1982)

Bonn puts travel curb on East bloc diplomats

Bonn has imposed a sanction on Poland and the Soviet Union that was agreed with its Nato allies at the end of January.

East Bloc diplomats, especially from Warsaw and Moscow, are having the freedom of movement severely restricted in the Federal Republic of Germany.

Journeys across country already have to be outlined in advance at the Foreign Office, but in the past few restrictions were imposed.

To all intents and purposes they were at liberty to travel wherever they saw fit apart from a handful of sensitive military areas.

In future they will be largely restricted to the Cologne-Bonn area and the autobahn to and from Frankfurt airport.

All other destinations will only be given the go-ahead after due consideration and in exceptional circumstances by the Bonn authorities.

This is roughly the same procedure as is applied to German diplomats in Moscow. They too are not allowed to leave the capital without a special permit which is seldom issued.

For diplomats in both East and West this is inconvenient, but it is little more than a pinprick, one of many ways in which one country notifies another of its displeasure.

Bonn's decision to use it nonetheless shows that the German government, regardless of the accusations levelled at it by critics at home and abroad, is as prepared idly to accept repression in Poland.

The catalogue of sanctions includes the refusal to provide fresh loans and export credit facilities, which weigh much more heavily with Warsaw in particular.

But it also strikes at the Soviet Union which has just applied for international credit facilities to help finance the lines-for-natural gas deal.

So there is a stepladder of sanctions and Bonn has taken the lowest rung. It may not want to climb any higher but the possibility is not ruled out.

Werner Bierz

(Nordwest Zeitung, 12 February 1982)

Missiles: Moscow throws the propaganda switch

The Soviet Union is going great propaganda guns. Nearly every day Moscow churns out through the media channels its latest proposal for the Geneva medium-range missile talks.

The Kremlin is keen to regain the propaganda initiative over Nato, which has found greater backing in Western public opinion for President Reagan's zero option proposal.

Supporters of the self-styled peace movement in particular are finding it difficult to marshal arguments against the intention of keeping both Eastern and Western Europe free of medium-range nuclear missiles in a certain category.

That is to say, in the SS-20's case Europe would first need to be cleared of the missile.

Moscow has realised that Mr Reagan's offer has weakened the position of its deliberate or unintentional fellow-travellers in the West and is now busy selling them its new six-point proposal.

Basically, the Soviet move is aimed at ensuring diplomatic safeguards for the continued stationing of SS-20 missiles in Europe.

That is all the proposal to reduce medium-range missiles on both sides to 300 each in two stages by 1990 amounts to.

At the last count the Soviet Union had roughly 280 SS-20 systems ready deployed. As far as can be told the build-up continues, and Nato knows what to expect by the end of this year.

Thirty seven Soviet missile units will each be equipped with nine mobile launcher units, complete with supplies and maintenance facilities.

Even if each launching pad had only one missile, that would mean by the end of 1982 a total 333 missiles at the ready, with three warheads each.

If Nato were to take up the Soviet proposal it would mean Moscow being able to maintain this arsenal for the most part until the year 1990.

The West, on the other hand, would not have been able to station a single Pershing 2 or Cruise missile in Western Europe.

That is because Moscow insists on neither side being allowed during the Geneva talks to station new intermediate-range missiles in Europe.

By the same token, Moscow would need only to stall long enough on talks once it had completed its SS-20 deployment programme to plunge Nato into tension over the deployment of the new American missile systems.

The Soviet Union can even be expected to make a further moratorium call once it has completed its SS-20 programme later this year and to emphasise its earnest by saying it has no intention of stationing fresh missiles of its own.

The Soviet programme is one-sided. It pays no consideration to Western security interests.

It aims to stall the Geneva talks by erecting obstacles that must be patently cleared.

The Russians will use the time for their own benefit to counter the zero-option plan.

Debate will now develop in view of Soviet counter proposal, and Bonn will find it difficult to find the strength to ride it out.

Rüdiger Moniac

(Die Welt, 12 February 1982)

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■ HOME AFFAIRS

Doubts about economic effect of new investment, job-creation project

The political effect of the Cabinet proposal to spend DM12.5bn on raising investment and creating jobs will be greater than the economic.

The motley collection of emergency repairs that Chancellor Schmidt calls "a common initiative for jobs growth and stability" does not deserve to be called an employment programme.

So Economic Affairs Minister Count Lambsdorff does not need to look for excuses when the Opposition reminds him that last autumn he made it clear that he would have no part of any employment programme. He has kept his word.

True, Chancellor Schmidt made a clever move when he linked another economic programme last year, Operation 82 — generally referred to in the press as the summer theatre — and Act II of the coalition theatre, "winter edition", this time.

In the summer he arrived an apparently mammoth programme costing a total of DM40bn to get the economy moving again.

The fact, however, is that only the structural measures of Operation 82 (as for instance in the housing sector, better depreciation provisions in taxation, the skimming off of DM10bn in Bundesbank profits, increased borrowing, the employment promotion consolidation law, cost reductions in the health services and cutbacks in child allowances) are suitable instruments for an effective economic and budgetary policy.

It should be obvious to all that even this cannot show any tangible effects from one day to the next.

Information released in the SPD/FDP negotiations late last summer was essentially meant to mollify disgruntled voters.

In any event, the SPD was even then under heavy pressure from the trade unions, which demanded a job creation programme.

The small and medium businessmen regarded the Free Democrats as their political spearhead in the bid to do away with the first day or two of paid sick leave and cut back on unemployment benefits.

Both coalition partners had already received the projections of the five leading economic institutes and the Council of Economic Advisers to the effect that unemployment would reach 1.7 million at the turn of the year.

The Free Democrats gained the upper hand when they demanded that no action be taken simply for the sake of appearing active. So no programme was introduced then.

It is indicative of the political chess moves that the two parties in the cabinet agreed on a programme in the end.

The close to 2 million jobless and pressure from the public at large and the trade unions finally prompted the government to do something.

The programme that emerged soon turned out to be the "bluff of the year" that will generate no economic improvement but will harm the coalition instead. Like last summer, the Free Democrats prevailed with their demands and gained the upper hand. This applies particularly to the changes in the rent laws which could have been copied from the opposition conservatives.

The modified staggered rent, the factual abolishment of comparative rentals and the introduction of time leases touch upon the exposed nerves of Social Democratic politicians who have always considered the existing rent laws as one of their major achievements. By pushing through this part of the programme, the FDP got its way on one of its pet issues.

In return, the liberals agreed to the increase of VAT.

But is this a genuine tax increase that can create jobs?

It is doubtful. For one thing, all the added VAT will bring to government coffers is a paltry DM4bn. This amount is to be used this year to provide a 10 per cent investment subsidy for those companies whose investment in the course of this year exceed the average annual investments in the previous three years.

There might be a businessman or two who will invest earlier than planned in order to collect the subsidy — and this includes the public sector.

But there are two basic disadvantages: Any investment to be made in May has been planned in the late autumn so that most investments would have been made anyway and are not due to the subsidy.

And there is no guarantee whatsoever that these investments will create jobs. Experience with previous such programmes shows that the opposite is true because most investments are of a labour-saving nature and thus aggravate joblessness.

Moreover, to be able to increase VAT the government had to swallow the bitter pill of undertaking to reduce the income tax for 1984. This could easily backfire if the government proves unable to deliver in the election year 1984. If happened, this the government would not only be accused of cheating on social security pensions but also on taxes.

The high quota of savings shows that private buying power has by no means been reduced to such an extent as low domestic demand seems to indicate. As a result, putting a couple of added deutschmarks into the consumer's pay envelope is unlikely to generate more demand.

The SPD in the cabinet seems to have become a trussed Goliath at the mercy of the FDP.

It managed neither to put through Finance Minister Hans Matthöfer's interesting proposal to increase the tax on mineral oil, nor to sock the high income brackets with added tax, nor moderately to increase the government's borrowing.

Had Matthöfer's proposal been realised, Bonn would have had an extra DM10bn this year alone instead of a possible DM10bn to DM12bn by the end of 1984.

So what has come out in the end is economic cosmetics instead of genuine measures.

The newly flared up discussion shows that the next act of the polit-theatre is already being rehearsed — as if the confidence vote had never taken place.

Seen in this light, the Hamburg election in June at the latest could well turn into a coalition nightmare.

Rainer Burchardt

(Deutsches Allgemeines Sonntagsblatt, 1 February 1982)

Kohl puts a cat among the coalition pigeons

Leading FDP politicians want the Opposition to cut part of the Government's employment-and-jobs programme when the package goes to the Bundesrat, says Opposition leader Helmut Kohl.

He said in the Bundestag that leading FDP members had encouraged him to stop the increase in VAT.

VAT is an essential part of the Government's DM12.5bn programme to boost investment and combat employment.

An FDP spokesman said Herr Kohl's statement was "a fabrication".

But that has not stopped the speculation.

Herr Kohl made the remark as he was presenting a seven-point "alternative" plan to boost the economy.

Opposition leader Helmut Kohl (CDU) has told Chancellor Schmidt that he will get no conservative support for his economic package.

The Chancellor had appealed to the Bundesrat, where the conservatives have a majority, not to prevent the package going through.

He made his appeal in the "interests of our country, its future and its social peace."

What happens often in these circumstances is that the Bundesrat chops and changes legislation so its fits a more conservative pattern.

The conservatives did not expect their alternative programme to go down like a bestseller.

It proposes less government assistance (as in the case of grants for secondary school students and unemployment benefits) and more incentives for business.

What makes for piquancy is that such a policy, which would be implemented without tax increases, coincides with FDP ideas.

Foxy Herr Kohl knew what was doing when he spoke.

The FDP and CDU/CSU are not entirely incompatible on economic policy.

And then there is the fact that FDP economic affairs expert Haussmann praised Kohl's proposal to negotiate with the FDP (rather than the coalition) about a new capital accumulation policy.

The whole thing adds up to a day the Opposition has every reason to be satisfied with.

It has managed to sow doubts and uncertainty in the government ranks. And if that does not spell success for any Opposition, what does?

(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, 11 February 1982)

The committee that makes laws in secret

It is a process which Baden-Württemberg's Prime Minister Lothar Späth (CDU) referred to as that of "a repair shop of the Bonn government."

Herr Späth said it should be stopped. But it has not been.

The budget austerity package was altered in the Bundesrat after going through what is known as the mediating committee. So has most important domestic and foreign policy legislation since the coalition came into office in 1969.

It seems that the same procedure will apply to the investment and employment programme.

At the centre of this tailoring process is the mediating committee, which consists of members of both Houses of Parliament.

The way it operates has led some to call it a sort of super legislature and the "darkroom" of legislation.

The abuse of the Bundesrat as an Opposition instrument of obstructionism takes place in public.

But the mediating committee operates in secret, a sort of substitute Parliament behind closed doors.

The original intention was not to keep the public in the dark, but it was felt that compromises could be more easily reached if the public were excluded.

That is understandable. But the result are laws that are nothing like the original.

The fact is that the system should be stopped. It is a deformation of the political system.

The committee is overworked: only 10 per cent of laws passed by the Bundestag wound up in the mediation committee from 1949 to 1972; the rate was 20 per cent at the end of 1980.

Compared with the drama on the open stage of politics, as in the case of the confidence vote for Helmut Schmidt, the work of the mediation committee might appear insignificant.

But the impression is deceptive. The government would in fact not have been able to govern without it. The pattern has remained unchanged lately: The SPD/FDP coalition government passes a law in the teeth of the opposition. Then the CDU/CSU majority in the Bundesrat goes into action and demands that the issue be put before the mediation committee.

Complaints that the Bundestag is losing in importance and that it is no more than the producer of the raw material for the mediation committee is quite justified.

A warning to this effect was issued by Hans Koschnick, who was both president of the Bundesrat and chairman of the mediation committee.

President Karl Carstens pointed out years ago that, due to different majorities in the two houses of parliament, the committee has to make many a final decision that should actually be made by the people through their elected representatives.

Other critics speak of a sort of "super legislature" and the "darkroom of legislation".

These are strong words and might be exaggerated, but they have been spoken out of concern for the system.

Gerhard Ziegler

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 6 February 1982)

■ DEFENCE

Coalition parties want tighter control over the export of arms

The coalition parties want arms exports to be tightened.

The parties say exports to Nato members and other western nations which are considered stable should remain allowable.

But stringent regulations should apply to other nations.

They want to drop the present ban on arms for "tension areas" because they consider that the term "tension area" cannot be defined.

Details about what the parties have decided in talks are not yet available, but it can be taken for granted that the Cabinet is not happy about the proposed restrictions.

Arms exports developed as an issue a year ago when Saudi Arabia wanted to buy German Leopard tanks.

The controversy was fueled when it became known that Bonn had given the green light for the supply of two submarines to Chile's military regime.

When the employment situation continued to deteriorate in the late 1970s, many parliamentarians were convinced that the government would loosen up on export restrictions to safeguard and create jobs.

But the present trend in the discussion between the coalition parties points in the opposite direction: tightening arms export controls.

An SPD working party made concrete decisions on the two incidents that had triggered the discussion.

Arms shipments to Saudi Arabia, *which the government originally wanted* to approve, were rejected. So was the supply of submarines to Chile – though the submarine contracts had already been signed.

The following picture emerges from the SPD/FDP talks. As in the past, shipments to Nato countries and other stable Western democracies are to remain permissible.

Exports to other countries are to continue to be subject to stringent restrictions.

Exports to the latter category of states should only be permitted after consultation with the Bundestag "and even then only if the government has arrived at the conclusion that they are necessary to promote vital political and security interests of this country."

The idea that exceptions should be made when "interests of a monetary or raw materials nature" require this has been rejected by the exports of both parties.

The SPD argument is that if such exceptions were to be made there would in fact be "no generally applicable guidelines and our actions would be guided by opportunism."

German arms, the argument goes, would be shipped to those who are financially strong and have sought-after raw materials.

The government's ideas on arms exports are not yet known in detail. But it can be taken for granted that the Cabinet is miffed by the restrictive rules introduced by the two parties. This is only natural because the government is much more involved in day-to-day exigencies than is the Bundestag.

There is our dependence in monetary and raw materials terms and there is pressure from other Nato countries to bear some of the burdens such as sharing responsibility for the security of Western oil routes in the Persian Gulf.

The government is fully aware that, since Germany is not sending troops to that region, it must at least help stabilise it through arms shipments.

But there are other factors as well, and the SPD working party has already yielded to one of them: the export of naval vessels is not to be subject to the group's own rules for arms exports in general.

This is due to the fact that the Bundeswehr needs German shipyard capacity though it is in no position to keep them working at maximum through its own and other Nato orders. So here moral scruples are no longer taken seriously and exports can go ahead.

It would not be surprising if the problem that has made the Social Democrats yield in this particular case could become a general bugbear of the German arms industry.

The tank production for the Bundeswehr will have run its course by the end of 1984 and the same applies to orders from other Nato nations.

And due to budgetary cutbacks, there is little likelihood that there will be German follow-up orders.

A total of some 170,000 jobs are linked with the Leopard tank in one way or another. And by the mid-1980s our aviation industry will be faced with similar problems.

All this has prompted economic policy makers to ask whether it was not an illusion to think that our arms industry could manage without exports.

Projects like the Leopard or a fighter plane call for such enormous investment that no medium-sized power like the Federal Republic of Germany can keep the industry working at capacity.

The question now is whether a consistently restrictive arms export policy does not of necessity mean that we have to forgo an arms industry of our own and buy complicated weaponry systems from foreign suppliers.

What makes the issue even more tricky is the fact that the coalition parties (the FDP even more than the SPD) make cooperation with other Nato countries in the arms sector — which generates orders — contingent on the jointly developed weapons being made subject to German export regulations.

And this can only mean forego cooperation in the arms industry because our potential partners, Britain and France, consider arms exports a perfectly normal line of business and a political instrument.

The question for the Bonn government is how to extricate itself from the dilemma posed by the wishes of the two parties on the one hand and foreign, security, raw materials and economic policy considerations on the other.

It appears that the government would like to uphold the idea of not shipping arms to tension areas because of the vagueness of the term.

As a concession, some government politicians seem to be prepared to consult the Bundestag (in the form of a small committee) on every arms deal.

This coincides with SPD and FDP demands but is not quite uncontroversial in the parliament as a whole.

Critics fear that such consultation would strip the Bundestag of its right to control the government.

But some government politicians consider it the lesser evil to allay the Bundestag's concern through more consultation than through arms export regulations that would leave the government no scope whatsoever.

Thomas Löffelholz

(Stuttgarter Zeitung, 1 February 1982)

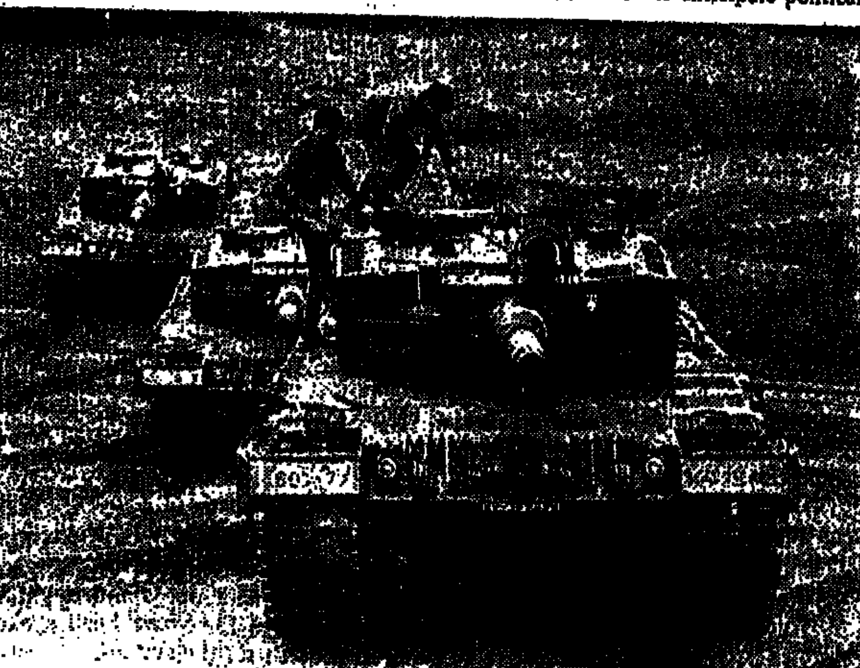
Replacement for Leopard tank 'not needed yet'

The army has no military need for the proposed Franco-German battle tank, says the chief of staff, Lieutenant General Meinhard Glanz.

He said that the army would need such a tank, but not until the middle of the 1990s.

And he couldn't care less where it came from as long as it met the criteria.

"We're so satisfied with the Leopard II that we think it is sufficient to update it," he told journalists in Bonn. He did not wish to anticipate political decisions, saying "we could otherwise find ourselves harnessed to a cart which it is not our business to pull. In other words, we don't want to make the decisions others should make or indeed relieve them of the necessity of making a decision at all."



There's life in the Leopard yet. (Photo: Sven Simon)

The Bundestag Defence Committee had put the Franco-German tank (which, according to a declaration of intent by the defence ministers of the two countries in 1980, was to have been built jointly) on the agenda for its session on 3 February but adjourned without reaching a decision.

Following the statement by the army chief of staff and due to the sceptical attitude of Defence Minister Hans Apel, observers give the project little chance of success.

The general also said that the restructuring of the army, whose combat units are to become smaller and more effective, is almost completed.

He stressed that this has been achieved without sacrificing combat readiness and that the army was on target last year in terms of training although some war games had to be scratched due to budgetary cutbacks.

This year's training programme is also largely ensured and manoeuvres will be held as planned.

What worries the general is the reduction by about 5,000 in the number of posts for soldiers who have signed up for two years because this group has in the past provided many NCOs.



General Glanz ... where they build it is irrelevant. (Photo: Ministry of Defence)

An average of one in three in this group became an NCO or went in for reserve officer training. Moreover, some per cent signed up for an additional term.

Any further reduction of posts in this category would be damaging, the general said. But he also said that he pinned his hopes on the review of this matter promised by Defence Minister Apel.

Another problem, the general said, was the soldier's long working day. He said that 80 per cent had more than duty hours a week.

He told the newsmen that he would step up efforts to change this, conceding that there were also soldiers who had worked a 45 hour week.

Ulrich Mackensen

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 4 February 1982)

■ INDUSTRY

Microchip revolution both challenge and threat

The Club of Rome has spent three days in Salzburg considering the implications of the triumphant progress of micro-electronics and published a survey entitled For Better or Worse. Bonn Research Minister Andreas von Bülow has invited the president of the Club of Rome, Aurelio Peccei, and the authors of the survey to Bonn for talks. Herr von Bülow warned against decrying the microchip revolution; micro-electronics was indispensable if a country wanted to stay industrially competitive. We would all have to grow accustomed to the microchip era. From school onwards young people should be taught about micro-electronics and the opportunities it presented, he said.

Micro-electronics, probably the most far-reaching revolution in the history of mankind, presented both an unprecedented challange and a threat.

But it also offered undreamt-of prospects for future generations. Turin businessman Aurelio Peccei told the 200 members of the Club of Rome at their conference in Salzburg, Austria.

The Club of Rome is a group of scientists, businessmen and trade unionists whose aim is to take a closer look at modern living as a whole, to map out concealed trends and to outline predictable developments.

Adam Schaff, one of the authors of the Club of Rome's survey of the effects of micro-electronics on social and political life, said there was a conspiracy of silence about jobs that would be lost in the wake of the microchip revolution.

Alexander King stressed the positive aspects. Micro-electronics would cut production costs enormously and reduce drastically the capital input requirement.

It was, perhaps, too much to expect of a gathering of this kind to arrive at a clear and concise viewpoint for or against micro-electronics.

As is the case with all technological changes of revolutionary import, change for the better is invariably accompanied by change for the worse.

Computerised industrial robots may relieve workers of the need to carry out mind-deadening assembly line work, but they also mean thousands of redundancies.

Card index files and archives may be replaced by electronic data banks, but they too throw thousands of file clerks and secretaries out of work.

We may have reason to be grateful that electronic controls enable us to programme washing machines to carry out complicated sequences of washing, rinsing, spin and tumble drying.

But the very same technique can be used in a missile or grenade to ensure with absolute certainty that the projectile will be exactly on target and do its deadly work.

Hansjörg Sinn, Hamburg's Senator for Scientific Affairs, recently outlined the problem as follows:

"Man, having learnt in the course of millenia how to handle fire, is now in a position not dissimilar to that of Goethe's Sorcerer's Apprentice.

"Man-made technology threatens to take over the reins of control, leading to results he could never have anticipated."

Bardeen, Shockley and Brattrain, three physicists, devised the transistor in the Bell research laboratories in the United States in 1948/49.

They may have foreseen their discovery being used in computers, but even they would have dismissed as wishful thinking any idea that in 30 years' time there would be 25,000 different uses for the microchip.

The first computer, built in 1946, filled a large room with its 18,000 valves and 1,500 relays. It was capable of 70,000 additions a minute.

Nowadays an output in this range is within reach of the smallest office computer.

"Micro-electronics," says Peter Merkel of Valvo, Hamburg, "is the key technology of current information retrieval, processing and distribution, and it will play an even more important role as time goes by."

Thirty-eight per cent of the German labour force is employed mainly in the information sector.

Nearly 85 per cent of bank and insurance workers handle information, as do 71 per cent of the payroll in commercial jobs, 48.5 per cent of civil servants and local government officers and one worker in four in manufacturing industry.

Since 1969 computer density in the Federal Republic of Germany has increased tenfold. There are now 2,000 computers and terminal systems installed per million persons employed.

So it can be forecast with near absolute certainty that over the decade ahead between 300,000 and 500,000 jobs in the conventional information line will be taken over by computers.

Most white-collar workers in commerce, banking and administration will at least have to face retraining and a complete change in working conditions.

The most alarming aspect of this state of affairs is probably that well over one German in three has no idea, or only a vague one, of what lies ahead.

According to a November 1979 opinion poll four Germans in five felt the introduction of new technology should not be held up because the country might then be unable to hold its own against international competition and unemployment would merely increase.

But this majority viewpoint could easily change if panic were to sweep thousands of people who were worried their own jobs would be the ones to go.

The largely favourable attitude towards micro-electronics might then suddenly change into a Luddite outlook.

"Might not what we call progress be so hectic and coincidental," Signor Peccei asked, "that the peoples of the world are extremely upset and too slow to respond to the waves of change powered by progress in both its positive and its negative sense?"

In March 1981 Professor Sinn called for top priority to be given to study of the repercussions of the microchip revolution.

The Club of Rome has made a start with its survey, entitled *For Better or Worse — Micro-Electronics and Society.*

Politicians, businessmen and trade unionists must draw level-headed and sensible conclusions to ensure that serious social upsets do not occur.

Franz Wauschkuhn

(Hamburger Abendblatt, 6 February 1982)

Hoesch, Krupp forge new steel deal

Krupp and Hoesch have agreed to merge their steel divisions. Their supervisory boards have given merger plans the go-ahead.

So far agreement has been reached in principle only; the details have yet to come. They are sure to do so, with the merger promising to prove a tough customer.

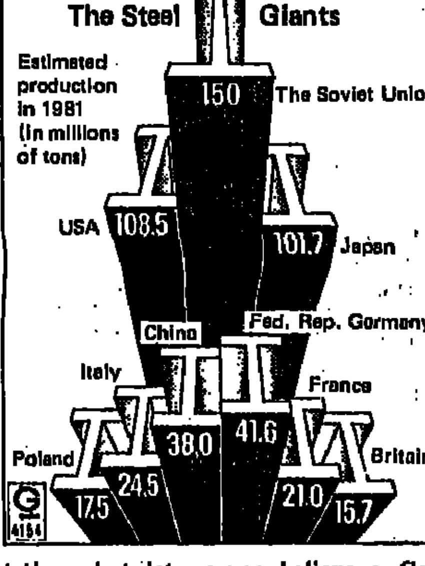
The boards will of course have been briefed on what it is likely to cost. Unless both companies stand to benefit, experiments should be avoided.

For Hoesch it means an end to their ill-fated merger with the Dutch Estel group.

Expectations or hopes of a larger company doing better business and safeguarding jobs have often been disappointed in the past.

Ten years ago, when Hoesch merged with the Dutch company to combine an inexpensive steel production facility on the Dutch North Sea coast with further processing in Dortmund in the Ruhr, hopes flew high.

There have been many reasons why the partnership did not live up to expectations, but let no-one believe a German-only Ruhrstahl AG (along Ruhrkohle lines) would make all the difference.



Companies do not run at a profit because managements put pen to paper but because of investment decisions being made at the right time, likewise decisions to shut down facilities or rejig outputs or product ranges.

Another point to note is that this will not be the last merger, accompanied by closures, in iron and steel.

Managing director Pieper of Salzgitter Steel has aired again his personal view that by the 90s there will be only two major steel companies in Germany: Thyssen and one other.

Viewed today, with production facilities dotted all over the country, this seems unlikely, but Herr Pieper must be an astute and farsighted executive to have got where he is.

That being so, he will realise that the No. 2 is bound to be a state-run or semi-government corporation; few private companies could withstand the pace of rationalisation and manpower cuts that would be necessary.

They could not even do so if one were to assume, as well one may, that the steel cartel decreed by the EEC Commission will be with us for some time to come.

(Rheinische Post, 5 February 1982)

■ FINANCE

Modest growth, lower inflation and better balance of payments predicted

Gross National Product this year is expected to grow by between 1 per cent and 1.5 per cent, adjusted for inflation, according to the Bonn Cabinet's latest economic report.

Last year GNP did not grow at all.

The cautiously optimistic report says the main task of economic policy is to boost growth potential, reduce unemployment and control inflation.

It expects this year:

- Inflation to come down from 6 per cent to 5 per cent.
- A halving of the current account deficit from DM20bn to DM10bn.
- A reduction in public sector investment by as much as 5 per cent.
- An average 4.5 per cent increase in gross wages and salaries.

The report mentions the DM12.5bn jobs and investment programme announced by the Chancellor, Herr Schmidt.

It says that while the economy should gradually improve later in the year there is fierce international competitition and only narrow scope for action in the monetary and financial sectors.

The GNP growth projection is based on a number of assumptions and conditions over which Bonn has no or limited control.

These include the development of international trade relations and interest rates.

The report states: "The main task of Germany's economic and financial policy will be to boost the growth potential of the economy and so improve the employment position while at the same time curbing inflation still further."

It would take several years effectively to solve these difficult problems.

We would overestimate the possibilities of government measures if we were to leave the solution solely to the st.te.

Success or failure of government measures are largely determined by the attitude of everybody involved in the economic processes, above all employers and trade unions.

The report expects no major growth to be generated from domestic demand. But foreign demand could give a boost.

The improved competitiveness of German business and its stepped up efforts to maintain and increase German exporters' shares of foreign markets will help.

The Crystal Ball

Estimates for 1982 from Bonn's economic report

1981 1982 −0.3 +1 to +1.5 Economic growth in %

1981 1982 +5.9 +5 Price increases in %

1981 1982 1.27 1.6 bis 1.7 Unemployment in millions

Exports of goods and services are expected to rise by between 6 and 7 per cent while the growth in the import volume will only be between 3 and 4 per cent (both adjusted for inflation).

Without taking inflation into account, exports are expected to rise by between 10.5 and 11.5 per cent and imports by 7 per cent.

Bonn hopes that the healthy state of exports will help to reduce the current account deficit from last year's DM20bn to DM10bn.

Inflation is expected to drop from last year's 6 per cent to 5 per cent. The government's aim is to bring it down to 4 per cent.

Lengthening dole queues are considered inevitable.

An additional 150,000 to 200,000 young people and foreigners are expected to crowd the labour market.

The additional supply of labour will be aggravated by diminishing demand.

Not until the second half of the year is there a chance that this unemployment increase will become less steep.

Average unemployment in 1982 is expected to be 1.65 million.

The report expects investments in the private sector to stabilise and to start rising gradually.

The annual average of investments is expected to diminish by about 0.5 per cent (based on prices at the time).

Public sector investments are expected to drop by as much as 5 per cent.

The report: "Improvement of private investments presupposes a marked and sustained relief of per unit wage costs, prices for imported goods and lower interest rates.

"Without a marked improvement of profits and anticipated profits for the business community, there will be neither a sustained rise in investments nor will more jobs be provided."

The government operates on the assumption that gross wages and salaries will rise by an average of 4.5 per cent this year.

But this average says little about the total volume of the wage deals such as fringe benefits, etc.

Taking into account that the number of job holders will diminish by about 1 per cent, gross income from employment will rise by only 4 per cent while gross income from business activities and capital will go up by between 7 and 9 per cent.

The report considers this distribution of income in favour of business necessary if the economy is to improve.

It points to the fact that gross income from employment rose by 7.9 per cent in 1980 and 4.7 per cent in 1981, making a total of about 13 per cent.

During the same period profits from business and capital rose by only 1.4 per cent and even diminished last year by 1 per cent.

dpa/ddp

(Mannheimer Morgen, 4 February 1982)

US delivers warning about 'hampered' services sector

The United States might consider restricting foreign service industries in America, if international restrictions are not lifted.

American trade negotiator William Brock told a meeting in Switzerland that almost any important international trade in goods could be made impossible by hampering such services as financing, insurance and consultancy.

The United States would like the question to be discussed in November when the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (Gatt) meets.

He was addressing an informal meeting in Davos of Cabinet Ministers from OECD and developing nations together with representatives of the International Monetary Fund (IMF), the World Bank, Gatt, OECD, and the EEC.

Everybody at least paid lip service to the principles of free trade in goods and service and of the free-market economy.

The delegates agreed that to get the world economy back on its feet, international trade, economic and financial organisations should be "revitalised".

International exchanges in service should be liberalised and non-tariff barriers should be removed.

Existing difference between the USA, Japan and Europe remain unresolved.

The meeting is said to have resulted in "more understanding for the other side", but Japan came in for a lot of criticism.

Tokyo's recent liberalisation measures were described as inadequate, and it was called on to allow more foreign goods in.

It was agreed that the economies of industrial countries should be provided with more leeway by relief from tax and social security contributions and by removing some of the barriers imposed by government regulations that hamper business initiative.

Switzerland's President, Fritz Honegger, listed the following as the most important problems: excessive inflation; the unstable energy market; high budgetary deficits; excessive indebtedness of the oil-importing developing nations, the East Bloc countries and China; and new forms of protectionism.

There was obvious disagreement on how important these problems are.

But unemployment ranked very high — if not at the top — on the scale of problems, closely followed by protectionism, financial dumping through monetary manipulation, subsidies, interest rates, taxes, etc.

There was a wide variety of opinion on how to fight unemployment.

Though most agreed that structural changes must progress unhampered, they stressed that employment-stimulating programmes were extremely costly and likely to prove counter productive in the long run.

Even so, some countries are determined to launch short-term employment programmes although they agree in principle that the old industrial nations will have to go through the purgatory of major structural change with even more bankruptcy and even more jobless.

Unemployment is now generally seen as a long-term phenomenon.

Erich Reyhl

(Handelsblatt, 2 February 1982)

Handout from State just keeps getting bigger

Every private household in the Federal Republic of Germany will next year get on average more than DM10,000 from the government.

Most, 85 per cent, is in pensions, student grants, unemployment benefits and health insurance payments.

The equivalent figure in 1961 was DM2,151 and in 1970 DM3,974.

According to the Cologne-based Institute for the German Economy (IW) the amount of money redistributed has increased considerable over the past few years.

It bases its findings on data from the Federal Statistics Office.

IW says that the proportion of these cash transfers to available income rose from 20.5 per cent in 1960 to 25.8 per cent last year.

This year the proportion is likely to reach 26.1 per cent.

The transfer of cash over the past 20 years has risen 30 per cent faster than total available incomes.

The study says this is not good for an economic system which is based on performance and individual responsibility.

But in terms of the economy as a whole, this development also has its positive side: the past has shown that the transfer of income has helped to cushion economic setbacks because it is anti-cyclical.

In times of recession, there was an above average rise in transfers and vice-versa.

In the recession year 1967, pensions, social welfare payments, students' subsidies, etc. rose a record rate of four times as much as available incomes.

The positive effect of this anti-cyclical trend is to stabilise the available income and hence private consumption, the report says.

A growing transfer quota means that an increasing amount of state money is redistributed according to social needs.

It can therefore be assumed that there has been a levelling off of incomes in the past few years.

This cannot be judged exactly because there is no way of establishing who ultimately benefited from the redistributed income.

In reality there is no clear differentiation between payers and recipients.

Horst Biallowons

(Die Welt, 2 February 1982)

■ BUSINESS

Declining birth rate, cash-conscious consumer, hit the toy makers

Parents just aren't buying enough toys for their children and the number of children available to play has not been increasing at the rate of old. The structure of the toy industry in Germany means that those toys that do sell well are made by a handful of makers. Retailers are concerned with selling quickly, so they are reluctant to stock anything that might occupy shelf space for a time. At this year's International Toy Fair in Nuremberg, there were many new electronic games. There were also new puzzles along the lines of the Rubik Cube. But the trade says that simple games, both for children and adults, do-it-yourself items and the traditional doll are the best sellers.

The toy industry has been worried about survival for years. No one knows where the optimism needed to carry on will come from.

Germany's toy industry looks back on a long tradition and has an outstanding international reputation.

But sales are stagnating, costs keep rising and the competition is stiff.

Many manufacturers are dedicated enough to want more than profit. They want their products to be used and enjoyed.

But economic considerations outweigh everything else.

One reason for poor demand is the low birth-rate. Over the years, the industry has sought an alternative by seeking a larger adult market.

But influencing adult leisure and consumer attitudes was more difficult than the manufacturers originally thought.

Consumer spending has been trimmed by a host of increased costs: interest rates for home building, fuel, taxes and social security contributions.

Buyer has become more discriminating

So buyers have become more discriminating.

Faced with a stagnating business and rising costs, retailers now pin their hopes on a small selection of items from a range of about 250,000 different toys.

A study made by Cologne Professors Sundhoff and Klein-Blenkers shows that in 1980, specialised toy shops, which accounted for about 41 per cent of the DM3bn worth of sales that year, made only 40 pfennigs worth of genuine profit on a DM100 sale.

If anything, the situation has worsened since then. So there is clearly a sword of Damocles hanging over the business. And every round of wage negotiations with the increased labour cost in its wake endangers the industry still further because there is hardly any scope for passing on higher production costs.

How to cope with rising costs and stagnating sales has become a key question for the trade. When retailers go out of business, others can take over their volume of sales and are thus in a better position to spread the costs.

But the drive of the strong retailers to ensure their survival has led to mergers and the power resulting from bulk buying.

Almost all specialised toy shops are now members of strong buying organisations with all the consequences of such power, which enables them to buy at the very lowest prices. The manufacturers, on the other hand, have no instrument that would enable them to counter this pressure.

In addition, retailers are increasingly restricting their lines to items that can be sold quickly and without long storage.

So they buy more and more in cheap Far East countries and their sales campaigns stress the "hits of the season".

In many cases, servicing and storage — and frequently financing — is shifted to wholesalers, and they in their turn shift the added cost to the manufacturers.

Given this constellation of power, the industry's bid for higher prices is rejected on the pretext that there is no room for the manufacturer's product in the range stocked by the wholesaler or retailer.

Most of Germany's 1,000 or so toy makers — most of whom are tradesmen rather than industrialists — have no way of defending themselves against such practices since they depend on the retailer to provide them with a shop window.

Those whose goods are not on show in toy shops stand no chance of selling.

All this has led to stiff competition in the struggle for survival, aggravated by the fact that the trade mercilessly refuses to stock items for which there is no instant demand.

But most German manufacturers are lucky because extreme quality demands by the customer gives them edge over foreign competitors.

Model trains, which are mostly made with the precision of a watchmaker and are therefore produced in small quantities, are a case in point.

Even the technology-oriented Japanese have been unable to come up with an automated manufacturing process that would enable them to compete with German manufacturers in this field. Foreign makers' transport costs, especially shipping, are high.

Of the 1,000 companies producing DM1.49bn worth of toys three-quarters have a payroll of less than 10 and only 5 per cent employ more than 100.

This 5 per cent accounts for 63 per cent of the industry's sales.

Annual sales of the remaining 95 per cent rarely exceed DM600,000.

The economic weakness of these smaller companies is best illustrated by the development costs of new products which can easily reach DM500,000 per item.

They lack the skilled staff needed to develop such fundamentally new items as electronic games.

All this makes newly developed products a gamble. So the motto in the industry is "adapt existing models and put in an appearance at every fair as long as the money lasts."

A gamble for the small manufacturer

But the Nuremberg Fair, the world's largest, has so many new items that it a gamble for small companies to take part.

So German manufacturers can only grimly look at foreign electronic games and other sales hits. Most German firms are out of the race even though exports appear to be rising.

Even the large manufacturers like Märklin are sceptical about the vaunted American market. The mood in the industry is despondent.

Claus Henniger

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 4 February 1982)

Construction industry working well below capacity

The construction industry is working way below capacity, one of the industry's chiefs said at the opening of *Constructa 82* exhibition in Hanover.

Tiefbau (roads plus ground level and underground works) is using 44 per cent of capacity while *Hochbau* (buildings) is working at 38 per cent, said Fritz Eichbauer, the head of the employers' federation.

An under-secretary at the Bonn Housing Ministry, Dr Dietrich Sperling, said the construction industry must become more cost conscious.

Space-saving forms of building should be developed and standards and regulations should be simplified.

Cutting costs did not necessarily mean reducing quality, he said.

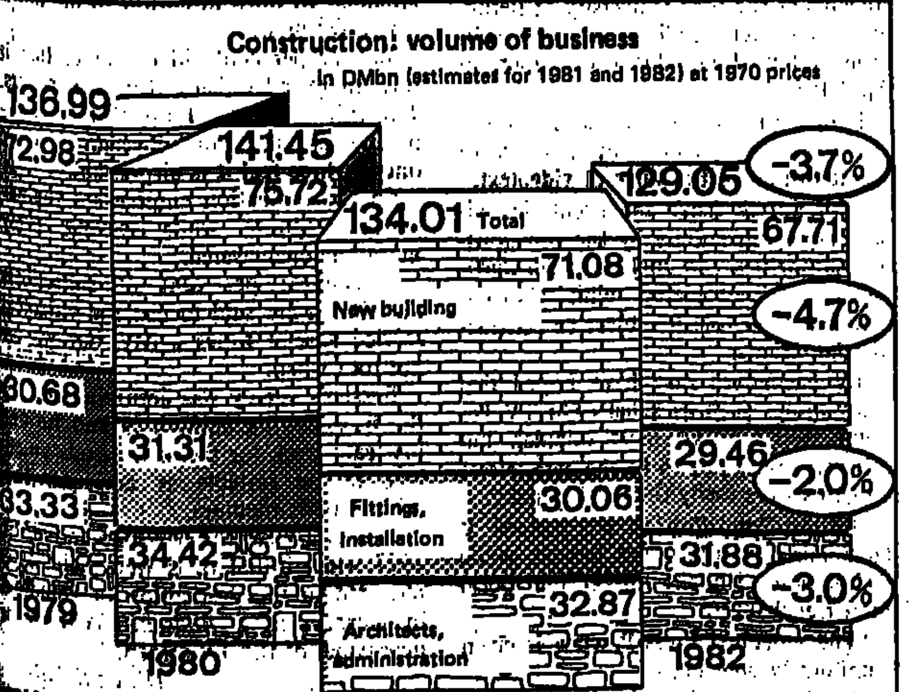
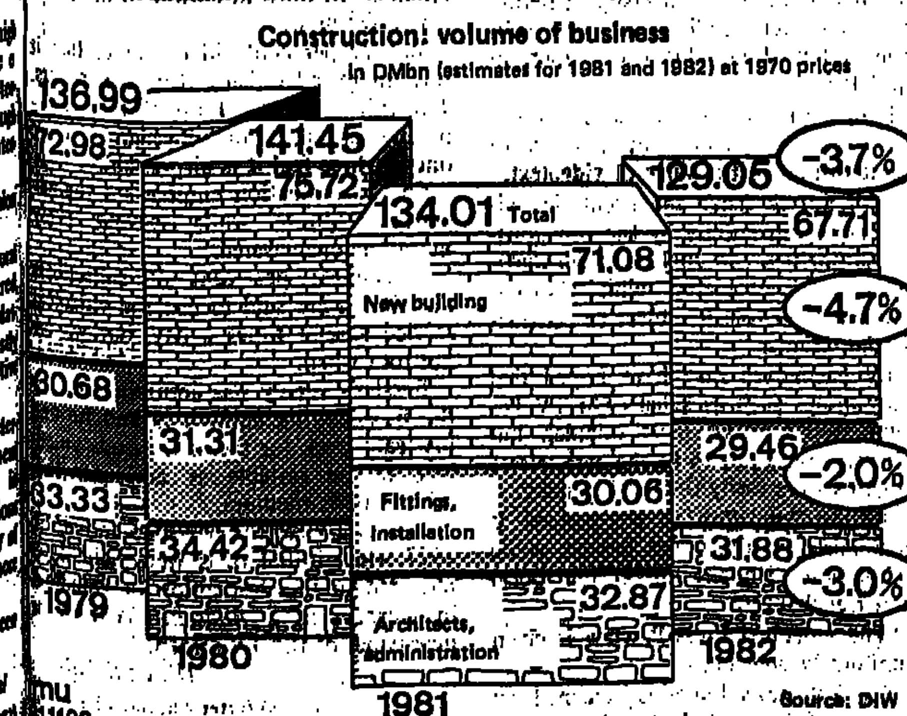
But excessive use of building standards ought to be abandoned.

Investment in new construction would remain unsatisfactory despite efforts by the government.

Main question at the show was whether the industry has reached the bottom. Or not.

Despite the crisis, there were more exhibitors than ever before, 1,825, which is 20 per cent more than the previous show four years ago.

The reasons are obvious. The very crisis makes it mandatory for the manufacturers of construction machinery to put in an appearance at the show.

Sceptics say things will get worse

Moreover, there is still some hope that most exhibitors will leave the fair in a somewhat less gloomy mood than when they arrived.

But, because of high interest rates and lack of public money, sceptics predict a further deterioration this year.

There will be little private home construction or renovation of old buildings.

However, the manufacturers of construction materials such as bricks, tiles, insulating materials, paints, air conditioning, doors, windows, sanitary installations, stairs and, indeed, prefabricated houses have been busy since the last show and have come up with many innovations.

Energy saving in construction is now stressed more than ever. There are not only new products on the market in this field, but complete problem solving systems.

Many a manufacturer has made a point of coming up with cheaper solutions in an effort to beat the competition.

Construction materials for do-it-yourselfers play an increasingly important role.

There is evidence everywhere at the show that suppliers are giving a boost to the construction industry proper.

Much hope is being pinned on the trade in construction materials. Here, stocks dwindled last year so that replacement orders are bound to start coming in.

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 4 February 1982)

■ THE MEDIA

The Catholic newspaper that refused to lie down and die

Black humour was the keynote of the first issue of *Publik-Forum*, a fortnightly newspaper launched 10 years ago on 28 January 1972. It featured a cartoon of a coffin from which a hand held out a flower.

Then there was an impassioned appeal by theologian Karl Rahner for change within the Roman Catholic Church, a few short articles and an open letter to the "dear friends of *Publik*."

The name of the newcomer was both a reminder and a programme, the reminder (as in the cartoon coffin) being a gesture to the Roman Catholic weekly, *Publik*, which had ceased publication after three years on the newsstands for what the bishops said were financial reasons.

Publik had been more than a newspaper. It was a bid to end more than 150 years of hostility between the Roman Catholic Church and the Press.

It was an attempt to go out to the public and end the introspection that as late as the mid-50s was described by the editor of the Cologne episcopal journal as the purpose of the Church Press.

It was also an end to the limited horizons of the episcopal journals, which survived the Third Reich in the lee of Hitler's concordat with the Church to replace, after 1945, the erstwhile Roman Catholic dailies and weeklies.

Publik-Forum set out to do what the Church hierarchy had ruled was impossible against a Press background of disbelief in God: to provide a forum for Church and society and to arrive via dialogue at a consensus.

The bid was backed by a group of readers of *Publik*. They were mainly students, teachers and university lecturers, but the group's members included (and still include) parish councillors and the occasional clergyman.

To this day the group, represented by three elected members of the board of publishers, lays down the broad outlines of editorial policy.

The magazine began with 8,000 subscribers. They were enough to keep it going and to pay the salary of a single full-time reporter.

In its early years *Publik-Forum* often threw open its pages to a wide range of opinion, including articles by Social Democrat Herbert Wehner, (Roman Catholic) Bishop Tenhumberg and (Protestant) Bishop Scharf.

They dealt with the relationship between Church and state. Politicians from Bonn and elsewhere dealt with the Third World and how to help it.

When election days came round the paper compared manifesto commitments and did not content itself with polemics.

In its theological sections it likewise dealt with major issues. Hans Küng, Stefan Pfürtner and Karl Rahner, while loyal to their Church, were not prepared to let it rest on its laurels.

With such a wide range of views aired, some readers wondered what had happened to the editorial viewpoint, while others felt there still was one but it was too left-wing for their liking.

This dilemma had been a problem for *Publik* too. How was the paper to strike a balance between a free dialogue and an editorial line of its own?

But in recent years there has been no mistaking the emergence of a distinct editorial viewpoint. The paper tries to offer a solution to the problems of dissatisfaction with government, destruction of the environment and crises of the economy.

As a magazine for critical Christians, as it calls itself in its masthead, the paper is arguably more to the point in its coverage of Church, credo and congregation than in its general political section.

Ten years ago *Publik-Forum* was one of the few periodicals to discuss the Latin American theology of liberation and to outline the beginnings of basic congregations.

Today's examples of practical parish reform are the Open Congregation in Krefeld, the One World oecumenical initiative and the mining community in the Ruhr where Dominican fathers help to run the parish.

Mention is also made of the difficulties Roman Catholic youth organisations have with, say, mistrustful bishops.

Publications are covered that have met with ecclesiastical displeasure. A large number of addresses and sources are quoted with a view to encouraging readers to show a greater sense of social and Church commitment.

So it is no coincidence that half the readership are active in some Church organisation or activity. Young people and well-to-do graduates form the bulk of the magazine's readers.

It is read by an estimated 50,000 people and has a print run of just under 20,000.

It certainly fills a gap in the Roman Catholic media, a gap that could easily have been filled if only the ideas of the Würzburg Synod of German Catholic bishops had been put into effect.

The aim endorsed at Würzburg was to promote publicistic pluralism by encouraging a wide range of magazines with different editorial policies.

The bishops have yet to act on this recommendation. Instead, the Cologne diocese suddenly raised the cash to bail out *Rheinischer Merkur* that had allegedly not been available to rescue Pub*lik*. *Publik-Forum* no longer goes to the trouble of asking the Church for financial support. "There is no point in embarrassing them," says editor Harald ...lowski.

Even without official backing the magazine manages to boost circulation between five and 10 per cent a year. This annual increase seems to come automatically.

It is certainly not the result of advertising campaigns. Now the magazine has an editorial staff of three it can still less afford to advertise.

Pope John Paul II is proving an effective, if involuntary circulation-booster. Subscribers in the Pope's native Poland are steadily increasing in number.

The print run has also been increased by about a quarter since Tübingen theologist Hans Küng was dismissed, since the Munich diocese and Bavarian Education Minister joined forces to keep Münster theologist Johann Baptist ... from being apointed to a Munich chair of theology and since the dispute in connection with the last Roman Catholic lay conference.

Cardinal Höffner of Munich ... benignly down on the proceedings, at least in a picture on the wall of the magazine's editorial offices in Frankfurt.

Peter Wi...

(Deutsches Allgemeines Sonntagsblatt, 31 January 1982)

Videotext goes on home-TV promotion run

Starting this month German TV is screening a 30-minute daily brief on videotext to give viewers who do not subscribe to the service a clearer idea of what it is.

Broadcasting authorities have also compiled an interim report, drawn up by Hans-Jörg Bessler of *Süddeutscher Rundfunk*, on videotext subscribers and what use they make of the service.

With the information gap narrowing on both sides of the TV screen, videotext is fast reaching the stage at which experiments are over and decisions due on whether and how it is to be generally introduced.

Videotext, as German viewers know from programme announcements, is screened daily and nationwide from 16.00 hours to the end of regular programmes. It can only be received by subscribers, who have an adapter known as a decoder fitted to their sets.

Videotext has been screened experimentally since June 1980. Last December the trial stage was tacitly extended until May 1983.

Heads of government of the *Länder* will then decide whether the service is to be provided permanently (and if so, how) or to be discontinued.

There are an estimated 50,000 TV sets in the Federal Republic of Germany equipped to receive videotext transmissions, so the number of regular viewers is felt to be about 100,000.

TV programme announcements refer, on all channels, to the videotext service. Ordinary viewers can now see for themselves, at a half-hour daily glance, what kind of information the full videotext service has to offer.

At *Sender Freies Berlin* a special editorial department has been set up to handle this special service, the broadcasting authorities having agreed to share the costs.

Broadcasting authorities have also allowed newspaper proprietors to take part in the experiment, subject to conditions and restrictions.

Newspapers have pooled resources to provide a Press Preview. The name is intended to imply what is undeniably a fact: newspapers are not allowed to screen up-to-the-minute news coverage.

By the terms of the agreement with the Newspaper Proprietors' Association the Press Preview is to be put together in a specifically newspaper manner.

In other words, it must only include news items dealt with in the newspapers associated with the experiment, these being *Die Welt, Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung, Frankfurter Rundschau, Handelsblatt* and *Süddeutsche Zeitung.*

They share 15 pages of videotext. The Berlin TV studio puts together over 60 pages of other material.

Hansjörg Bessler's interim report on videotext is based on telephone interviews of 351 subscribers all over the country made before and during the 1981 Berlin radio show.

Ursula Dehm and Manfred Knoche, students at the Free University of Berlin, published their findings on how subscribers felt about videotext earlier, in April 1981.

Both are based on relatively few interviews. Both are marked by a degree of scepticism about the value of videotext.

Both fail to make the point that videotext is run strictly by the broadcasting authorities and that although newspapers are associated with the experiment their role is subject to contractual limitations.

TV executives may have hoped that programmes such as What's On TV Tonight would prove most popular, but this was found not to be the case. News bulletins were easily the most popular.

But the Press Preview was panned. It fared fairly poorly, writes Bessler, while Dehm and Knoche make the point more trenchantly:

"The videotext Press Preview is given a uniformly poor rating."

The TV news bulletins screened on videotext fare much better. Coming in between regular TV newscasts, they are felt to provide a useful extra service.

According to Bessler 77 per cent of the people questioned felt better informed by videotext (whatever this may be taken to mean; no further explanation is given).

Sixty-six per cent feel the range of services is, all told, very good. This may be due to the quantity and topicality of information and to the arrangement of contents on the videotext programme briefing page.

Bessler's report includes appendices that give an insight into the ways of interpreting the figures, explaining why, for instance, the Press Preview was found to fare relatively poorly.

Asked which service they make regular use of, subscribers said the news (83 per cent), the weather bulletins (... per cent), sports reports (62 per cent), videotext newsflashes (53 per cent) and the Press Preview (48 per cent).

Yet the Press Preview was more popular, by one percentage point, than What's On TV Tonight.

Eighty-one per cent did not doubt for a moment that the Press Preview was intended to draw attention to the newspapers featured.

But 77 per cent did not agree that it was mere advertising for the papers. Two-thirds feel the Press Review is generally useful, writes Bessler. Almost one in three feel it is dispensable.

So the evaluation emphasises the negative response while leaving many questions unanswered.

Forty-three per cent of subscribers questioned are said to use the videotext service several times a day, but we are not told when.

Bessler's survey was commissioned by the broadcasting authorities and he and his team work for them. He finds videotext to be suitable as an up-to-the-minute news medium.

This is a view the newspapers held in 1977 when initial trials were held. It is reflected in the description of videotext in German as a *Bildschirmzeitung*, the newspaper of the TV screen.

Ulrich Sch...

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 4 February 1982)

■ SHIPPING

Questions hang over icy death of a freighter

The bottle of bubbly hit the hull of the DM220m Antarctic research vessel at its Rendsburg shipyard in the approved manner.

Anna-Barbara von Bülow, the wife of Bonn Research Minister Andreas von Bülow, said the usual words at a lauching ceremony:

"I name this ship the *Polarstern*. May God bless her and all that sail in her."

She might well have wished the 118-metre (387ft), 20,000-hp ship better luck than its predecessor in the Antarctic pack ice.

The *Gotland II* sprang a leak in the ice and sank off the Antarctic coast on 18 December. While the new ship is being fitted out in Rendsburg, an inquest on the old one will be held in Hamburg.

No-one died in the mishap, but it indicates structural weakness in both the ship that sank and the research programme of which it formed part.

As so often happens when research is intensified for political reasons, the measured pace of scientific progress seems to have been abandoned in favour of a spate of progress.

With renewed German interest in Antarctic research, all concerned have arguably been overkeen to accomplish results.

Ganovex II, the second German Antarctic North Victoria Land Exhibition, seems to have come a cropper midway between responsibility and the desire to make use of a research opportunity.

When the story broke and it was learnt that the *Gotland II* had sunk, ending the exhibition prematurely, the initial response was tight-lipped.

The ship's owner, an agency in Schulau, near Hamburg, did not want to prejudice the inquiry. Neither did the BGR, or Federal Biological Sciences and Commodities Research Institute in Hanover, which chartered it for the expedition.

They were certainly not prepared to comment until members of the expedition returned to Germany. This they did in mid-January.

Captain Ewald Buhne and the BGR's Dr Franz Tessensohn and his team of research scientists sounded a fatalistic note, implying that the mishap had been an act of God.

"I would have returned to the Antarctic on board the *Gotland II* any time," Dr Tessensohn told the *Hannoversche Allgemeine Zeitung*.

Professor Martin Kürsten, his superior at the Hanover research institute, said one must surely be able to rely on a vessel's icegoing classification even though, in retrospect, he felt all might not have been well.

The prompt reference to an act of God, with its implication that human error could be ruled out, certainly sounds suspicious. So do other parts of the tale.

With the Hamburg *Seeamt* tribunal about to investigate the affair, the Hanover research institute seems to have chosen the wrong ship and had her set sail from New Zealand too soon.

In Hamburg shipping circles the ship that now lies on the icy bed of the Ross Sea is said to have been a sitting duck. Professor Gotthilf Hempel of the Alfred Wegener Polar Research Institute in Bremerhaven says the *Gotland* was not the right ship for the job.

He was offered its stablemate the *Grönland* but turned it down. Did the Bremerhaven boffins let the Hanover scientists go ahead regardless, as the Hamburg news weekly *Der Spiegel* has suggested?

All that can be said with any certainty is that the findings of the inquiry will leave us little the wiser; it is a strictly nautical affair and has no authority to pass judgment on the management of Antarctic research.

Like inquiries after plane crashes, the *Seeamt* proceedings are not aimed at finding a guilty party, merely at finding out what happened so as to avoid repetition of the mishap.

The *Gotland II* affair dates back to the mid-70s when German interest in the Antarctic was reawakened after an interval of nearly 40 years.

Marine biologists were busy locating gigantic shoals of krill, an Antarctic shrimp rich in protein that was the staple diet of the endangered whale.

In and around the Antarctic geoscientists discovered increasingly interesting deposits of ore, coal, gas and probably oil.

But Bonn was not a member of the exclusive club of countries that administered the Antarctic. So it decided to join and is now the 14th member of Scar, the international council on Antarctic research.

As the price of membership it was required to engage in permanent research on the Antarctic ice, and last year the Georg von Neumayer base camp was set up in Antarctica, to be manned all the year round.

This research station on the Atlantic coastline of Antarctica is run by the Bremerhaven institute, which will also bee responsible for the *Polarstern*.

It is part of a DM300m research programme backed by the Bonn Research Ministry. The Hanover institute's research programme is backed by the Bonn Economic Affairs Ministry.

Two years ago Hanover scientists led by Franz Tessensohn first set foot on North Victoria Land, a mountainous area on the Pacific coast of Antarctica, unresearched and poorly accessible.

Ganovex I, the first expedition, headed south on board the *Schepelsturm* a small but robust research vessel reinforced to handle icy conditions.

The ship set sail from New Zealand on 8 December 1979 and reached the Antarctic coast five and a half days later. It was used as a floating base camp until mid-February 1980.

Helicopters flew from the ship, taking scientists up into the mountains with 4,000-metre peaks and ice-free in parts. There camps such as the Lili Marleen Hut were laid out.

In December 1981 Tessensohn and his team returned to North Victoria Land. Ganovex II was to complete the geoscientific survey of the geologically most interesting mountain range.

According to continental drift theory Antarctica was once linked with Australia, South Africa and South America, all of which are richly endowed with raw materials.

The Transantarctic Mountains running through Victoria Land mark the dividing line between the older eastern and the more recent western section of Antarctica and thus particularly interests geologists.

On paper there was little difference between the two expeditions. Both ships were icegoing vessels in the E3 category, but the *Gotland* was larger and more comfortable than its predecessor.

The research briefs of Ganovex I and Ganovex II were much the same too. Setting out from New Zealand, the expedition was to reach Cape Adare on the coast of North Victoria Land in about 10 days.

The 20 scientists were to use the camps set up during the first expedition and then to survey new areas.

Whilst they were inland the ship was to sail west along the coast to Yule Bay, about 100km away and easier to supply. But what actually happened was altogether different.

The ship set sail from New Zealand on 14 November, three weeks earlier than the first time round. Days later the *Gotland* and its complement of 16 crew, 12 scientists, eight assistants, including a doctor, and five helicopter pilots were first caught in the pack ice.

The Antarctic run took not 10 days but nearly a month, which is nothing unusual in Antarctic waters, which are anything but predictable.

Dr Tessensohn and his team were not able to fly inland (the ship was about 40km off the coast) until 10 December. They set up camp and reopened the Lilli Marleen Hut.

Captain Buhne was waiting for an opportunity to slip round the pack ice and set sail for Yule Bay. The helicopter pilots reported a passage through the ice, so he made the attempt.

A few days later the *Gotland* was caught like a mouse in a mousetrap. A week before Christmas, on 17 December, there was an ominous crunch at three in the afternoon.

The ice came to grips with the ship and bent its frame from bow to stern, incapacitating it. Three hours later the ship sprang a leak and the crew sought in vain to pump the icy water out of the ballast deck with its 1,500 tonnes of dolomite.

The freighter listed even more and just after midday the next day the crew abandoned ship and flew to the base camp on the coast.

A powerful pump was flown from the US base on McMurdo Sound, about 900km away, and sent down by parachute. But it came too late.

At about midnight on 18 December the ship sank. No-one was there to see her slip into Davy Jones' locker. But down she went and that was the end of the expedition.

Still, no lives were lost and all the helicopters were safe too. But equipment worth about DM1m was lost, including a mobile receiver for pictures relayed by meteorological satellite.

The abrupt end of the expedition forced Dr Tessensohn to write off a further DM1m of his DM4m research project.

Back in Germany people were not happy despite comments about the unpredictable nature of the Antarctic. Persistent doubts about the ship and the planning of the expedition have since been voiced.

A glance at the freighter's log shows that it was no stranger to the seabed. It was launched as the *Annemarie Schulte* in 1970 and given an E3 ice rating in accordance with Finnish regulations in force at the time.

The 2,400-ton ship kept this rating in 1971, when tougher ratings were introduced, in 1974, when it sank after a collision in the Weser estuary and was not salvaged until four months later, and in 1978, when the hull was lengthened by 15 metres.

So Günther Schulz, the owner, was able to charter the *Gotland* for Antarctic research in 1980 on the strength of the 1970 ice rating.

For the Bonn Research Ministry the ship took parts of the Georg von Neumayer base camp to the Antarctic, but in convoy with the *Titan* and the *Polarsirkel*.

An observer from the Hanover institute was on board during this mission and on his return he recommended the *Gotland II* for Ganovex II.

When the master of the Ganovex I ship, the *Schepelturm*, agreed to serve as first officer on board the *Gotland* Dr Tessensohn and Professor Kürsten saw no further reason to doubt its suitability.

On paper it looked like a fine proposition. The larger ship cost less to charter. The *Schepelsturm* would have cost more than DM15,000 a day to hire, which was more than the Hanover budget would allow.

The roomier *Gotland* was going for DM9,500 a day, and since both ships had an E3 ice rating, a contract was soon signed.

The new ship may have been a pricebreaker, but it was an icebreaker only on paper. The *Schepelsturm* has an engine three times more powerful, a twin-skin hull and rounded icebreaker stems.

It had a variety of other features that made it seem less than suited for shipping in waters where an E rating was essential.

As long as the *Gotland* sailed in convoy and in reasonable conditions nothing was likely to happen, but out there on its own in bad weather and a month earlier than usual was another matter.

US supply ships do not set sail from New Zealand until 9 December but the aging freighter ventured out a month earlier. It was too much for her.

Professor Kürsten may say that the new *Polarstern* would have been unlikely

Continued on page 10



Help came too late for the Antarctic research vessel Gotland II. (Photo: dpa)

When Johann Friedrich Böttger, who was born 300 years ago this year, succeeded in manufacturing china at the court of Augustus III of Saxony in Dresden in 1709, he could not claim to have been first to do so.

Centuries earlier, the Chinese had discovered how to fire the new material, based on kaolin, felspar and quartz and so suitable for making pottery and figurines.

China had long made its way along cumbersome mediaeval trade routes from Asia to Europe. But Böttger and Meissen marked the beginnings of the china industry in Germany and Europe.

In the West it is mainly based in the north-east of Bavaria in an area bordered by the towns of Hof, Bayreuth and Weiden. This region accounts for roughly 90 per cent of the industry's West German capacity.

■ FRONTIERS

Unbroken line in German china industry

The industry was hard hit by the division of Germany and separation from previous centres and sales areas, but china has held its own in its Bavarian stronghold in the post-war era.

A phase of weeding-out and mergers was followed by a process of consolidation and since the mid-70s the situation has definitely stabilised.

There are just over two dozen West German manufacturers of china crockery and ornamental ware, and the industry's payroll of about 19,000 has remained at its 1975 level.

Unlike many other industries, there are no sick men or basket cases in the china business. Böttger's legacy is alive and well.

This is due in part to the help given by the state to a border and development region, but the industry would never have been able to hold its own against Japanese competition had it not been fundamentally sound.

Domestic demand for china has been steady, the industry has worked hard and in world markets china from the Federal Republic of Germany commands a respectable second place behind Japan.

It looks as though the industry can rely on domestic consumers continuing to spend a fair amount on china for the table and as a gift despite having less to spend and rearranging expenditure in many respects.

In recent years the industry has gained in self-confidence and confidence is unshaken, or so it seems. China has learnt how to fend for itself despite the difficulties of a high-wage country and a fairly wage-intensive manufacturing process.

About 20 years ago, when wage costs first exceeded 50 per cent of turnover, manufacturers felt this was a nightmare that could well put them out of business.

Firing has since been modernised, machinery has been increasingly used and conveyer belts even introduced, yet wage costs remain a predominant factor, still accounting for well over 50 per cent of turnover.

This is problematic and will remain so, especially as productivity is barely being improved.

But in the wake of experience over the past few decades the industry obviously feels it will keep abreast of trends and is more confident of doing so than it used to be.

The reason for this confidence is that despite its handicaps the West German china industry has succeeded in holding its own against international competition.

In world markets it has kept well abreast of growing demand even though bids by leading manufacturers to break the predominance of the Japanese in the US market have met with scant success so far.

In the home market import quotas, most unusual for the free-market West German economy, have undeniably been a great help in enabling the industry to remain competitive.

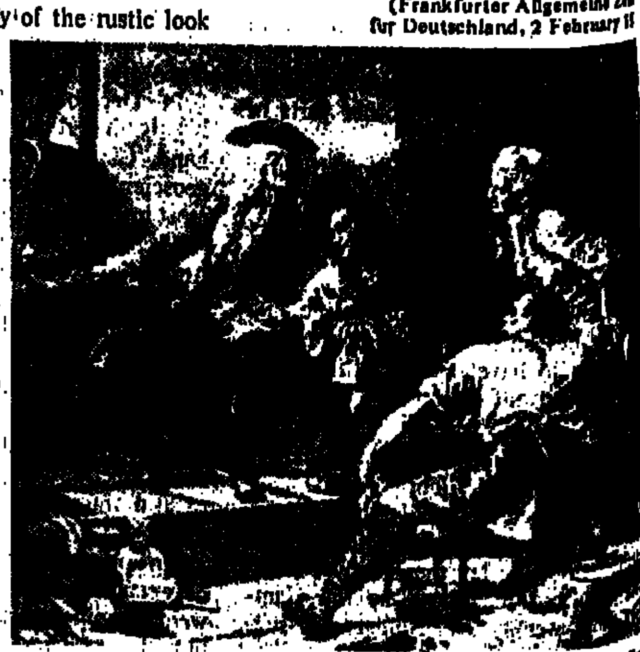
There are quotas on imports of bone china from the Comecon countries, especially the GDR, and this cushion has helped the industry to withstand Japanese competition.

For several years this has applied to china from China too, although the quota system is no longer as effective as it used to be.

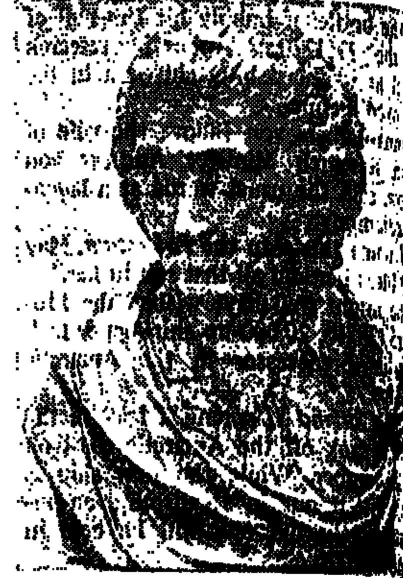
It has been unable to prevent foreign competitors from gaining a share of the domestic market.

There has, in fact, been a combined effect of both substitute products, such as earthenware and other ceramics, and new sources of cut-price china from the Far East.

Take the popularity of the rustic look (although in table ware it has now been replaced by a trend back to fine bone china). Domestic manufacturers were by no means alone in jumping on to this particular bandwaggon. Imported table ware benefited too. About a quarter of the china sold in the home market is imported, but the percentage of imports is nearer 50 if earthenware and other ceramics are included. Among EEC competitors the Italians in particular have made strenuous efforts and cornered about 4 per cent of the import trade.



Learning the secrets of making china. A fresco by Paul Kie... (1710). (Photo: Hist...)



The man who gave china its big break i[n] Germany, Johann Böttger. (Photo: Histo...)

Far Eastern countries also account fo[r] a higher percentage of substitute im-ports, 22, than they do for bone china.

Common Market countries, especi[ally] Britain, account for more than h[alf of] Germany's china imports.

Among suppliers from the Far Ea[st] Japan is not a cut-price country. Japa-nese prices and qualities are fast catch-ing up with those of home industry.

The cut-price countries are now Sou[th] Korea, Taiwan, the Philippines a[nd] mainland China, and import quotas [af]fect only China.

To a certain extent South Korea i[s] even able to export china to the Fede[ral] Republic of Germany free of custom[s] and excise duties.

Even so, the German china industry has fared well. Over the past five or si[x] years output has been stabilised at abou[t] 8.000 tonnes, while turnover has bee[n] increased by more than half.

This has been the result of market[ing] policies that have made a virtue out [of] necessity. Unable to compete with [cut-]price china, domestic manufactur[ers] have concentrate on quality.

Quality means higher prices, and [Ba]varian companies make less and [less] mention of hotel ware. They leave t[hat] end of the market to others.

Hutschenreuther und Rosenthal, t[he] two largest domestic manufacturers, [are] bywords for quality, innovation and de-sign.

The industry seems to have made t[he] right decision in the circumstances: t[o] manufacture a wide range of qual[ity] bone china to sell at higher prices th[at] cover cost and to ply the market wi[th] regular innovations.

Gerd Maten...

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zei[tung] für Deutschland, 2 February 1[982])

Continued from page 9

to survive similar conditions either, but he cannot prove the point.

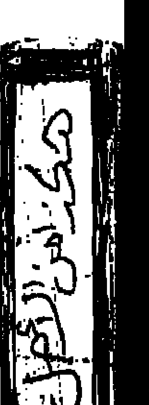
There is more credibility to be given to a surmise by a ship's captain with Antarctic experience that the *Schepelsturm* would probably not have suffered the same fate as the *Gotland II* in the circumstances.

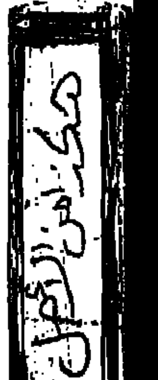
The signs are that the Hanover scientists have wagered heavily on their Antarctic research programme and promptly lost the lot.

Yet they can count themselves lucky. No lives were lost. If anyone had died the public prosecutor might be looking into the affair. As it is, it is only the *Seeamt*. And it merely records what appears to have happened. It has no power to impose penalties.

Günter Haaf/Klaus von Mandelsloh

(Die Zeit, 5 February 1982)





■ EXHIBITIONS

The pessimism of Andy Warhol

Andy Warhol is generally seen as the major painter of the Pop Art school. This was borne out by a comprehensive exhibition of his work held in 1976 at the Lenbachhaus in Munich.

It comprised nearly 300 exhibits covering the period 1942-75. A further exhibition of 83 Warhol paintings and collages dating from 1961 to 1981 now rounds off the picture. It too is at the Lenbachhaus.

Attention is paid both to his main 60s topics and to his 70s paintings of well-known personalities. The emphasis is also on his more recent work.

The 83 works on show at the Lenbachhaus are 12 more than exhibited at the Kestner Gesellschaft in Hanover before the exhibition moved to Munich.

The arrangement was chronological and this time there were no surprises. Warhol and Pop Art have long been well-known and highly-rated in Germany.

The strident arrival of the everyday world, with its highways and autobahns, supermarkets and consumer products, posters and TV images, on the 60s art scene is nowadays regarded as an act of liberation.

Warhol made the banal and everyday worthy of painting and depiction, making them in turn a myth and symbol of latter-day civilisation.

The objects he depicts, all well-known items, are nowadays seen with pleasure. They only superficially affect the onlooker.

They include his 1960 Superman, painted in acrylic paint, like most of his work, and his can of Campbell's soup. Then there is his footstep guide to dancing the tango and a stylised newspaper page.

There is his double Mona Lisa and his double Elvis. There are stylised flowers and a 1976 still life with the hammer and sickle.

Yet Warhol also depicts the electric chair, car crash deaths, race riots, a suicide and a 1963 poster of the most-wanted men.

This apparent contradictoriness of topics makes two points. First, Warhol is an incomprehensibly cool and passive artist. Second, he is an uncommonly exact and truthful observer of the age.

The serious and the trivial, the fashionable and the dreadful, the sublime and the ridiculous, the normal and the extraordinary exist side by side, as we all know from life today.

The conventional hierarchy of values goes by the board, and this is something Warhol does not propagate; he merely makes it apparent.

The evidence he uses is the photo, or the TV still frame, these being the major sources of optical information today.

Yet the impression his paintings convey is by no means straightforward. We are given to understand that the reality of photography and the TV screen is a false one.

We are shown with particular emphasis the two-dimensional representation of reality that is their characteristic feature.

In overpainting photos Warhol establishes a reality of his own which, surprisingly, exactly represents the true picture, the reality.

Overpainting, in keeping with his use of photos and TV stills, gives what is depicted a sense of aesthetic detachment.

This is the very way in which we perceive our problematic and contradictory reality. A detached and fleeting glance is enough; the next news item, please.

Warhol's 70s portraits are particularly well-known. They include Marilyn (Monroe), Jackie (Kennedy) and Liz (Taylor).

Then come self-portraits and portraits of fellow-artists, such as Rauschenberg, Johns and Stella.

We see Leo Castelli, Willy Brandt, Mick Jagger, Mao Tse-tung, Truman Capote and, dated 1980, the Düsseldorf artist Joseph Beuys. His gallery of 70s personalities are a high society of which he was the ideal court painter, as the Munich catalogue puts it. His technique creates colour surfaces that can be both ugly and beautiful. It features smeared printer's ink, distorted outlines, screened shadows, harsh and arbitrary changes of colour filter and garish chemical dolours. In Warhol's work this combination of techniques becomes, the catalogue says, a particularly suitable formula for the documentation of well-to-do and fascinating people whose faces seem continually to be illuminated by the afterglare of a flashlight.



A 1981 Warhol: 'The Star', silk screen and acrylic on canvas.
(Photo: Catalogue)

His portraits also give clarity to another feature of reality. Their cool detachment reminds one of the unattainability of the stars and public figures.

In mechanical mass-production he points to a further phenomenon of modern living. It is that everything has been made available and usable by photography and TV, including the stars and heroes of the modern age.

So Warhol's art here remains contradictory. Yet the psychological variety of people portrayed still comes across, especially in his portrait of *Liza Minelli*.

In the middle of a coloured surface with glaring light and dark zones and nothing in between, two very human eyes look out at the viewer.

Thus his choice of subjects and people must always be understood as an obeisance to the individuals in question. He pays respects to the Jewish intellect, for instance.

Individually or in rows he draws over striking photos outlining the features of Martin Buber, Albert Einstein, Sarah Bernhardt, Sigmund Freud, the Marx Brothers, Franz Kafka, George Gershwin, Golda Meir, Gertrude Stein and Louis Brandeis.

He does not turn a blind eye to history either, let alone the American myths he depicts in a series of 100 images.

We are shown 10 recurring cliches of America: Superman and Santa Claus, Mickey Mouse and Howdy Doody, Dracula and the witch, the star and the shadow, Uncle Sam and Mammy.

His paintings are mass-produced yet art, the one because they are produced in long runs, the other because they are produced in painting size.

These contradictions are also part of Warhol himself.

His working environment is a factory complete with total management, receptionists, secretaries and switchboards.

Warhol is no longer an outcast; he is in total conformity with the ruling culture and society. Yet he has retained his powers of observation of contemporary reality. To this day it is a pessimistic view.

Charly Prestele

(Mannheimer Morgen, 3 February 1982)

Some golden secrets of African civilisation

The splendour and magnificence of many African civilisations comes as a constant surprise to the ethnological layman.

They are most impressively to be seen at the exhibition of Gold and Silk from West Africa at the Rautenstrauch-Joest-Museum in Cologne.

The centrepiece of the display is the figure of an Ashanti king from Ghana in full regalia. He wears a gaily coloured broché silk gown in toga fashion.

He is fully laaden from head to toe, from his velvet headband to his sandals, in ornately worked gold.

He and the objects that surround him (chains, rings, ceremonial swords and the like) make it clear why others envied Ghana its gold as long ago as the 7th century AD.

Yet throughout centuries of alien rule the Ashanti managed to keep to themselves the secret of where they got underground workings and partly washed their gold.

They did so until the 16th and 17th centuries, when West Africa (before America) was Europe's major source of the yellow metal.

Not for nothing was Ghana known as the Gold Coast and a British coin and unit of currency known for centuries as the guinea.

The gold was mined partly in underground workings and partly in out of the sand by the women. Nuggets belonged to the king, whereas gold dust was legal tender for everyone.

It was weighed using a small balance and cast gold weights.

Alongside its stock of African gold and silk the Cologne museum boasts the most important private collection of gold weights, more than 1,000.

They were bought by H. G. Klein, a Cologne art dealer, 16 years ago, before Africa began manufacturing replica gold weights to sell to tourists.

The older weights in the collection are oblong in shape with geometrical patterns that can no longer be interpreted. From about 1750 they were joined by figures, frequently illustrating sayings.

Like many gold artefacts, they were cast in a chemically refined but technically simple manner.

The exhibition marks the 75th anniversary of the museum, which began with the ethnological collection of Wilhelm Joest, a Cologne factory-owner's son. Joest died young but travelled all over the world collecting items between 1874 and 1897. His sister, Adele Rautenstrauch, bequeathed his collection to the city of Cologne and built the museum to house it.

Little more than the imitation baroque, post-art nouveau exterior of the original building survived the Second World War. After makeshift repairs a theatre was housed in the main section of the structure.

Oberbürgermeister Norbert Burger of Cologne worked for many years at the Bonn Economic Cooperation Ministry and developed an interest in ethnology as a means of promiting development collaboration.

He has given rise to hopes that North Rhine-Westphalia's only ethnological museum might soon be able to reoccupy its entire premises.

But conversion work is essential if the plans of Gisela Völger, curator of the museum for the past two years or so, are to be carried out.

She would like to rearrange the entire exhibition facilities along modern lines. Her major current project is for cooperation with the museums of Lima, Peru.

Planned for 1984/85, this exhibition will combine the pre-Columbian and European influence on present-day Peruvian civilisation.

Additions are naturally envisaged to the museum's existing stock of about 50,000 items, with the emphasis on Oceania, including Australasia.

An imaginative display idea illustrates what the museum has in mind. In one room a Touareg tent built on sand is the main eye-catcher.

Under a covering of ochre-brown goatskins the entire household equipment of a Touareg family is laid out as though they had just left.

Other major items include Yoruba masks and costumes from Nigeria and ceramics from several pre-Columbian civilisations in Ecuador.

Donors are sought to help the museum to pay for what it would like for its birthday, since there is no way in which the costs can be met out of current allocations.

Arianna Giachi

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 20 January 1982)

■ THE THEATRE

Botho Strauss offers an enticement

Do we go to the theatre to see ourselves? Or do we perhaps go to encounter seomething entirely different, distant, beautiful, uplifting and amusing ... something never seen or heard before?

Botho Strauss, 37, playwright and prose author, tries to entice his readers and theatre audience to yield entirely to his characters, their actions, attitudes and lingo.

It might seem a crazy, grotesque, exaggerated and uncohesive world that confronts us. Yet, on taking a closer look, it is our world, it is the present and it is we ourselves who enact it.

"... the rest is theatre, the last of our magic attempts to rid ourselves of *angst*."

The phrase is one spoken in "Kalldewey, Farce", the new play by Botho Strauss which the *Deutsches Schauspielhaus* of Hamburg premiered in the *Operettenhaus* under the masterly direction of Niels-Peter Rudolph.

The designation "Farce" in the title carries the same weight as "Kalldewey". The memory of this farce or grotesque lingers. The whole thing is not easy to accept.

The woman and the man, both of them aged, on meeting again observe themselves in an interlude: "How they play! They keep on repeating themselves. They enact the 'then' without letup. And then the whole thing starts all over again. You see: the rest is theatre ..."

They peep through a gap in the white curtain that has been drawn across the stage, their backs to the audience. They peep through a "gap in the nature of things."Both Strauss, writing, opens this gap and the curtain rises. What begins is the nation gaping at itself. What the audience sees and hears is "TV people", "our consumerism culture" amplified by the "national TV-wealth", "predigested language" and the "noise of language dropouts" — people who try to clarify their "relationships" on the psychiatrist's couch.

The terminology stems from the prose volume *Paare, Passanten* (couples, passers-by) in which Strauss has jotted down his frighteningly accurate observations of people and situations in miniatures of great linguistic artistry.

But this seemingly so rational, computer-controlled, media-saturated, psychoanalysed world is never flat when presented on the stage. It is couched in reflection, in intellectual exercises for the audience and a language as unfalsified as music.

"Kalldewey, Farce" begins with a leave-taking ("So much I still wanted to tell you") and ends with a leave-taking ("That was what I still wanted to tell you").

At the beginning, the man with the flute and the woman with the violin, orchestra musicians in tails and evening dress, slowly move away from each other, whispering ("Hold me! Hold me fast! — See you soon, eternally see you soon!").

At the end, their clothes in disarray, they are once more alone on the stage. The woman's last words are: "I thank you."

The man says: "I love you."

This was preceded by an epilogue of Shakespearean jester's wisdom: "'Twas only a play with deeper plays, not true magic: therapy ordered from a catalogue; rummaging in a box named soul, remnants, old desires green and blue ..." Mozart's "Magic Flute" music had (seemingly?) taken them out of wraps.

Hannelore Hoger and Gerd Kunath present the couple with great earnestness and acting verve. They make Strauss' language come across to the very fingertips; and in every nuance of articulation they are one with the author and the director.

Between the leave-takings, Niels-Peter Rudolph at times over-emphasises the farce with fascinating spotlights in the scenes with K and M, two nutty, ever-changing caricatures of women's libbers.

The first scene after the "eternally see you soon", set in a pub, erupts in furious music.

Therese Affolter and Barbara Nüsse are of such perfection in the scene as to make the audience forget how difficult it is to combine the tomboyish stance, complete with the jargon that goes with it, with articulation discipline and to blend the conspicuous make-up with convincing presence.

Giesela Küster's costumes, apart from the black of evening dress (worn by a waiter played by Timo Wüllmer and the head of a therapy business, played by Michael Gempart), also imaginatively satirised the punk and disco milieu.

(Erich Wonder ironically extended the dubious red of the *Operettenhaus* to the stage and made it end at a column between the fourth and fifth rows of seats, thus taking it back to the audience. Two blue noon lights convey the impression of a night-dark vault. He keeps the sparse stage open and in the rear there is a gradient that makes offbeat entrances and exits possible.)

K and M, from whom the woman hopes to get help, start a fight with the man. Together with the woman, their tear him apart (in the form of a doll thrown on the stage), tossing the blood-stained limbs around.



A scene from 'Kalldewey, Farce', premiered in Hamburg.

(Photo: Peter Pe

Later, having calmed down, they have a hard time abiding by the therapy rules. In the end, they can only exist by enacting roles.

The man (who has meanwhile returned) and the woman also see each other in a different light and try to get along with each other until Kalldewey interferes.

The guests at the woman's birthday celebration have only subterfuges to offer. He has at least come with a bottle of champagne. It turns out that he is uninvited and that nobody knows him. When he finally opens his mouth all that issues forth is obscenities — "Kalldewey's the name, keep the semen back's the game".

Kalldewey, brilliantly acted by Gerhard Garbers, appears on the stage only briefly and then disappears under mysterious circumstances. He is evidently the man who sows uncertainty and at the same time the idol followed by all except the woman. ("I'm telling you, it was the King").

Pied Piper and Magic Flute motifs mingle. Everybody follows and tests failed.

Kalldewey is a symbol of pomoc... which is also mentined in *Paare, Passanten:* a benignly smiling destroyer... whom the props are sacrificed in the end.

Nothing about Botho Strauss is cle... cut, and even the serious frame... scenes of leave-taking are vexing.

With all the pleasures of comedy... gags there is no fertile ground for fu...

"The sleep of love gives birth t... monsters" is the motto which Bo... Strauss has put over the first part... "Kalldewey, Farce", varying the fam... Goya etching on the "Sleep of Reason".

If we can see ourselves playing ... farce and overplaying the cold and ba... renness of our electronic world, can ... then hope that love will awaken from ... slumber? Would there be no *mour...* then?

The way Niels-Peter Rudolph ... staged Botho Strauss in Hamburg ... possibility remains open. But he ... sustains the farce to the very end ... ving the accolade in tails.

Herbert Glos...

(Deutsches Allgemeines Sonntagsbl... 7 February 19...)

A blending of 'conflicting' styles

The two-day guest performance in Frankfurt of the soloist quartet of Twyla Tharp's Modern American Ensemble could not have come at a more fortuitious moment.

It is hard to imagine a better possibility of comparison than that between our own dance theatre that has gained some strenght in the past years and the dance company of a choreographer whose work has matured through several experimental phases.

For Twyla Tharp to have come to Frankfurt, which is so far removed from her guest performances at the Vienna ballet festival, is also a sort of tribute to our own new dance theatre.

The performance in Frankfurt's Old Opera House faithfully reflected the choreographic stations of Twyla Tharp through Shelley Washington's grandiose performance.

With her Dance Foundation, Twyla Tharp has in the past 15 years tackled three different and seemingly conflicting styles that have formed amazing blends in her latest works.

Twyla Tharp's beginnings were marked by happenings, aleatory movement, provocative minimal art and isolated and totally unconventional dance styles.

At that time she was very close to Merce Cunningham.

Twyla Tharp's choreographic open-mindedness towards new aesthetic developments has repeatedly irritated the American public which suspected her of betraying the art when she ventured into rock and disco ballet (she even choreographed "Hair").

But it was this trivialisation of experiment that underlies her inimitable style marked by a tightrope act between extreme poles of movement that threaten to tear the choreography apart.

"Sue's Leg", a loosely intertwined sequence to music by Fats Waller dating back to 1975, proves the combination of style-conscious jazz dance and early experiments, the whole thing rendered smooth through tap dancing and a showbiz attitude.

In view of all this, it was not surprising that the American choreographer went the whole hog in the choreographic acid test: In 1976, she choreographed for Mikhail Baryshnikov at the American Ballet Theatre.

Later this experience was integrated in the work of her own company when(...) 1980) she choreographed "Brahms Paganini" which has its premiere in New York and the first part of which contains one of the most exciting ... classical male parts.

William Whitener effortlessly conv... it to the audience even across ... vastness of the Frankfurt Opera Hou...

Twyla Tharp is not interested ... themes. Sometimes she seizes on ... happy-go-lucky college atmosphere ..., at others she picks a slightly kit... love story.

But whatever she tackles contai... blend of the American way of life. Th... effect is frequently coincidental ... chatty.

The whole thing is always light co... pared with the deep earnestness and ... turous heaviness of German dance e... periments.

Twyla Tharp's ballet shows movem... as a process because she enters into ... most improbable of syntheses, go... from Merce Cunningham's aleat... movement and isolation via the Af... American polyrhythmic jazz dance ... the way to the romanticising "Dances ... a Gathering" à la Robins.

Her choreography always conveys ... instability, complication and beauty ... human relations. *Jens Wendland*

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, 4 February 19...)

■ CHILDREN

National shop-window for young film producers

Response to Germany's first national schoolchildren's film festival in Hanover was so great that the organisers were amazed.

"We were totally stunned," said one.

School film festivals have been held before on regional bases. The idea of a national one came about a year ago during a discussion in a pub.

The idea was for children to get a wide audience for their 8mm productions.

This, it was reckoned, would help understanding how young people's minds work.

Fired by the idea and curiosity plus DM12,000 out of their own pockets, the film makers Job Crogier and Ulrich Hoffmann-Weiss, art teacher Burkhard Inhülsen and the graphic designer Karin Inhülsen launched the experiment.

They sent out invitations, made contacts and rented suitable premises.

One local newspaper commented at the time that the idea was built on sand because there was little chance of subsidies.

But as the last of the films were coming in, subsidies also began to come in, both from the City of Hanover and the *Stiftung Deutsche Jugendmarke* (an organisation promoting youth work). Others provided the cash prizes needed as an incentive.

The festival had a special programme in which films made by German, Belgian and Swiss schoolchildren between 1950 and 1979 were screened.

This was enhanced by an information screening of 65 films that were not competing for prizes. But the highlight was naturally the actual competition.

The organisers stress that the prizes were not intended to start a race and fierce competition for them but to promote future projects. In the end, the DM2,000 worth of prizes were competed for by 54 entries.

The jury of nine, which was made up of juveniles with cinematic experience, journalists and teachers, was faced with a tough task even in making the preliminary selection.

It took weeks of constant viewing before the tide of material was finally sifted with the help of voluntary assistance.

The main problem was the organisers' desire to reconcile the festival's two aims: the three-day event was to provide both a representative review of schoolchildren's films and single out individual achievements for a prize.

When the festival opened, the competition programme alone encompassed 1,122 minutes of movie action — close to 19 hours.

In view of this taxing viewing pleasure, the audience, which has originally hoped to combine the festival with excursions to the nearby countryside, was forced to virtually set up house in the theatre.

Despite the time that was set aside for discussion and festival parties, there was in the end not enough time for the young film makers to get to know each other. This was one of the shortcomings of the event.

Another point of criticism is directed at the schools, which refused to pay travel expenses. This accounts for the fact that only about one-quarter of the young film makers whose works were on show put in a personal appearance.

One of the youngsters who attended said that he had had a hard time being excused from classes.

So did a teacher who finally had to take some holidays.

It is only natural that most of the films had to do with school in one form or another. The theme, with variations, can be summed up as the ballad of teachers and students — a ballad in which wit and rage were close neighbours.

The frequent use of trick photography made side swipes at curriculas and the rigid bureaucracy at our schools appear funny. But often the gags and caricature-like depictions boiled down to bitter accusations.

Why Not Green Instead of Grey?, the title of one of the group productions, applies to many of the films in which pupils are shown escaping the dreariness of instruction by having a snooze at the desk or day dreaming.

Many of the films showed the youngsters in forests and meadows, wearing colourful clothing or "war paint" and so escaping from regimented reality to a world of harmony, solidarity and joie de vivre.

The production of a group of 7th graders showed that mathematical formulas have not fully supplanted imagination.

As part of German instruction and during a stay at a summer camp the group made one of the most poetic films, to which the jury rightly awarded a prize.

Entitled *Fairy Tale of Those Who Set Out to Find the Crock of Gold at the Foot of the Rainbow*, the film tells the story of how teacher and pupils built a raft and escaped to never-never land.

Sinister goings on in 'Die Betrogenen' (The Betrayed) which was shown at the Hanover national festival. Meanwhile, somewhere in the forest outside . . .

The Super 8 film, *Tough Guys and Fresh Dolls*, also shows teacher and pupils pulling in the same direction.

Tired of the endless grammar instruction, a class of 7th graders decides to go on strike. Their decision to go a cinema and see a thriller instead of going to school develops into a chain of technical mishaps.

The film within the film finally reveals itself as an unintentionally funny miscarriage.

The cinematic record of what can happen when a bunch of 7th graders set out to make a film for which they have provided the script, the direction, the sound engineer and the actors was a side-splittingly funny masterpiece.

Gags and self-deprecation were also the vehicle for the cinematic message in *The Bag*. Here, the film makers came to grips with performance stress and university entrance restrictions.

In this 45 minute production, a youngster is finally driven to anarchy and blows the school in which he has suffered so much to kingdom come.

"It is indicative that the school gave us a great deal of trouble when it came to the shots in the classroom. We met with total lack of understanding and in the end some pretext was used to forbid the filming." This critical remark by one member of the film making team was included in the festival's programme brochure.

Though there was no actual censorship, some members of the team were barred from school premises on one technical ground or another after they graduated, making it very difficult to complete the film.

The next large category of films on show in Hanover was science fiction movies.

Space travel was depicted imaginatively in some cases and leaning on conventional patterns in others.

A lemon prepared to look like the crater landscape of a celestial body was the exception rather than the rule. Still, some startling effects were achieved on a budget of only a few hundred deutschemarks.

Many an old sacred cow of today was transported into the year 2000.

Be it as a space ship secretary, a good fairy, a luscious bird or the girl friend you can rely on, girls occupied a conspicuous place in these films, most of which were made by boys.

But female leads (like Maggie in a critical film on the recruiting practices of youth sects) were rare.

And whenever parents were depicted, the films showed them in the traditional roles: father reads the newspaper, mother cooks and darns.

The documentary *The Disabled Hold Their Own*, was memorable. In this film, a 16-year-old girl records her personal encounters with the physically and mentally disabled.

Only one other film dealt with the problems of minorities. In *Brief Encounter* (with its 75 minutes one of the longest films) a 15-year-old depicts the beginning homosexual relations of two adolescents which are brought to an abrupt end by the violence of a fanatic.

The young director was awarded the special prize of the Hanover mayor for "his delicate handling of a taboo subject."

Incidentally, the shortest film, an animated cartoon, was only one minute long.

Although faced with the destruction of our environment, with drugs, distant theatres of war and social indifference, most of the young film makers resigned themselves to simply taking stock.

They did not seek solutions, as for instance by analysing the causes of aggression.

One of the exceptions was *We've Got a Big Hate on Today*, which was made by the Youth Film Club Schwäbisch Hall and was awarded a DM1,000 prize.

Based on the professional feature film *Die Brücke* (The Bridge), a group of Munich pupils dealt with the madness of the Nazi regime and the senseless sacrificing of adolescents for a war that was already lost. The film won the second prize.

There were no protests against any of the prize awards. But, considering the many experimental films that were screened, the jury seems to have favoured the smooth, formal realisation over the frequently attractive blend of high-flying ideas and the mishaps in implementing them.

Still, the financial aid in getting the next film project off the ground was well deserved by the prize winners which included the breakneck silent film parody, *The 8th Wonder of the World*.



. . . another scene develops. The film takes a critical look at young soldiers striving for Nazi victory.

(Photos: Markus Ingenlath)

The youngest of the prize winners was aged only 10. His funny two-minute animated cartoon dealt with the vicissitudes of getting grandma into the car.

At the end of the three-day festival, the exhausted organisers said that the event was not intended to be institutionalised. The objective was to give a push to regional events of that nature.

The next festival of amateur film makers aged between 14 and 24 has been scheduled to take place in Werl, Westphalia, in May.

Another festival will be held in Berlin.

All these events are likely to trigger a tide of interest because of the encouragement Hanover provided for young film makers on a shoestring budget.

Bettina Schroeter-Kleist

(Der Tagesspiegel, 31 January 1982)

■ MEDICINE

Low-temperature heart-surgery technique gives surgeons more time

Doctors in Bad Nauheim have developed a technique of surgery which allows the heart to be stopped for two hours.

Until now, surgeons have had only 45 minutes to operate if the heart had to be stopped. After that permanent damage occurs.

This new development will not only give surgeons more time, but make possible operations that were previously ruled out.

Basically the technique involves cooling the solution used to immobilise the heart. The patient's blood is also cooled as it flows through a heart-lung machine and back into the body.

The breakthrough has been made by the Max Planck Institute for Physiological and Clinical Research in Bad Nauheim in cooperation with heart surgeons at Giessen University.

Artificially immobilising the heart, known as cardioplegia, was first introduced in the mid-1950s.

The open heart is cut off from the blood supply of the main artery, the aorta, and then immobilised with a cardioplegic solution.

The heart starts beating again when the blood is allowed to flow back.

Dr Jutta Schaper, of the experimental cardiology department at Max Planck says: "This method has the advantage of enabling the surgeon to work on a relaxed heart that is not beating.

"That makes it much easier to replace a damaged valve or carry out bypass surgery such as when a vein taken from the leg is used to bypass the clogged artery."

The problem here is that the heart is totally cut off from blood and oxygen while the supply to the rest of the body is maintained by a heart-lung machine.

Crucial factor is length of tolerance period

This condition of total lack of blood and oxygen is known as global ischemia. The consequence is that the heart tissue begins to disintegrate from the very onset of ischemia.

This process, known as autolysis, leads to damage which, in its early stages, is reversible due to a certain ischemia tolerance of the heart.

If the blood supply to the heart is restored during this tolerance period the cells recover and the heart can resume its normal function.

But if ischemia exceeds the tolerance period the damage becomes irreversible.

Even once the heart has had its blood supply fully restored, the disintegration of tissues continues and revitalisation, if successful at all, will last for a limited period only.

In the early 1970s it was still unknown where this point of no return lay. It was also unknown *how* the lack of oxygen damages the heart.

This made it the more important to find the answers to these questions.

Says Dr Schaper: "At that time, the mortality rate following protracted heart surgery without effective cardioplegia was close to 30 per cent. In other words, one in three patients died shortly after the operation even in cases where the surgery itself went off without a hitch.

"In view of this situation, we began our research work in 1973, closely cooperating with a team of Giessen University heart surgeons headed by Professor Fritz Hehrlein."


Researchers at Bad Nauheim work with the damaged heart of a pig. (Photo: MPG)

The initial objective was to establish the type and extent of damage due to ischemia and to find out how long the heart can survive without oxygen.

Tissue samples obtained during heart surgery at the Giessen University Hospital were placed in a special solution and closely examined under the Max Planck Institute's electron microscope.

This showed that it was primarily the socalled mitochondria, which can best be described as the power stations of the cells, that were affected by the lack of oxygen.

It is these mitochondria that use oxygen as their biochemical fuel to produce adenosine triphosphate, which is the energy supplier for all vital functions of a cell.

It became obvious that of all cell structures of the heart, the mitochondria were the most vulnerable in their reaction to lack of oxygen.

Examination under the electron microscope showed that the mitochondria underwent characteristic changes that became increasingly pronounced as ischemia continued.

They therefore provided a perfect yardstick by which to measure the extent of damage caused by ischemia.

Dr Schaper: "We found at the time that the heart must not be immobilised for longer than 45 minutes. After that time the mitochondria suffer such severe damage that they can no longer recover once the blood supply has been restored.

"Unfortunately, 45 minutes is a very short time even for a highly experienced surgeon. It allows the replacement of one heart valve but not two. The same applies for bypass operations where only one rather than two bypasses can be implanted."

Work at the institute therefore concentrated on extending the ischemia tolerance.

During the work, a number of measures to protect the heart during cardioplegia were developed and tested. They are now in use not only at the Giessen University Hospital but also at other German heart centres.

The first and most obvious step was to cool the cardioplegic solution and to bring down the temperature of the heart. Some three litres of solution are washed through the heart during surgery. This retards disintegration because the lower the temperature the slower the biological processes.

Blood flowing through the heart-lung machine and the patient's organism also is cooled.

This overall hypothermia cools the heart through neighbouring organs such as the lungs, the diaphragm and the abdominal organs.

The next step was to test and compare various cardioplegic solutions in animal experiments to establish their protective effects on the heart.

Tissue specimens showed that two of theese solutions (those developed by Bretschneider and Bleese) were particularly suitable. This was later confirmed when applying them to humans.

The ischemia tolerance was thus extended to 60 minutes — progress, but still insufficient for surgery aimed at three or four bypasses.

Dr Schaper: "The necessary added time was not gained until the introduction of surface cooling which we also first tested on animals.

"Here, the immobilised heart is exposed to a steady flow of a cold dextran solution to prevent it warming up - mainly as a result of the bright operating theatre lights."

This technique has led to an ischemia tolerance of 120 minutes — enough for the most complicated of heart surgery which would have been unthinkable only a few years ago.

Heart surgery is progressing in huge strides and even patients who were considered inoperable only a few years ago are now operated on.

But despite the increasingly complicated operations today's surgeons tackle, the mortality rate has dropped *from* the former 30 per cent to between two and five per cent.

This is because the heart is now better protected from damage due to ischemia and therefore makes a quicker post-surgical recovery.

The researchers at the Max Planck Institute and the Giessen University heart surgeons have thus achieved their goal of giving the surgeon more time and reducing the risk to the patient.

But work must go on, say Dr Schaper, due to the growing number of coronary patients and due to the fact that there are too few heart surgery centres. This forces the Giessen surgeons to work 12 hours a day.

Walter Frese

(Deutsches Allgemeines Sonntagsblatt, 31 January 1982)

'Pictures of sound' speech teaching aid for deaf

A machine has been designed to help deaf people to speak by using their eyesight.

The principle involves converting the sounds of speech into patterns of colour projected on to a screen.

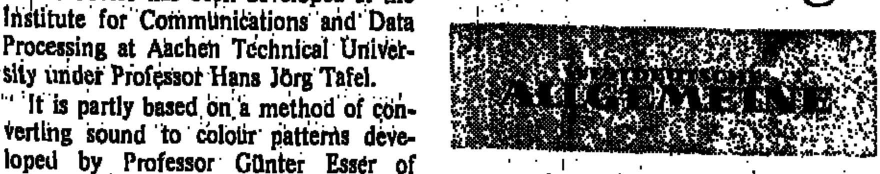
The device has been developed at the Institute for Communications and Data Processing at Aachen Technical University under Professor Hans Jörg Tafel.

It is partly based on a method of converting sound to colour patterns developed by Professor Günter Esser of Düsseldorf University's Research Laboratory for Medical Acoustics.

The patterns change with every sound reaching the computer via the microphone. The rhythm, melody and sound groups are made visible in various forms.

Guided by a teacher, a deaf person can control and improve pronunciation.

The speech exercises are stored on a magnetic tape.



Apart from these colour patterns, the machine provides several other speech training programmes for special problems.

The new machine is shortly to be tested at the Aachen School for the Deaf.

Otto Bünsen, the school's principal: "After many experiments, the new machine provides the long-sought prototype for use in schools. Not only is it reasonably priced but it also provides a variety of training systems."

But the Aachen Institute has set its sights higher. It wants to provide a pocket version.

The idea is to make the appliance small and cheap enough to enable every child to have one.

Professor Tafel: "Given the development of micro-computer technology and mini TV screens, there is no reason why this should not be feasible in technical terms. But we're still at the beginning. It'll take another few years." *dpa*

(Westdeutsche Allgemeine, 3 February 1982)

■ ASTROLOGY

Born under the sign of the Bunch of Grapes

The signs are that interest in astrology is on the increase. In times of growing uncertainty and anxiety people have always tended to seek pointers to their future in the stars.

An additional factor these days may be a vaguely felt need of religion that is particularly widespread among young people who often seek to satisfy it outside the established Church.

Commercial and show business interests also play a part, and belief in the stars even has a political aspect that tends to be overlooked.

As a rule those who try to unravel the secrets of the stars are unaware that the mysteries of astrology have long been demystified by scientific research.

The research I mean is not that of the natural sciences but rather that of what in German is known as *Geistesgeschichte* or *Weltanschauung* analysis.

In the first third of this century scholars such as Franz Boll, Carl Bezold and Wilhelm Gundel went into the history of astrology using sources dating back to the Ancient World.

In 1960 Will-Erich Peuckert, an outstanding scholar of the occult sciences and a man who does not deserve to have been forgotten so completely, wrote a major work on the subject.

Astrology in its classical form is an excellent guide to pre-scientific views of the world, as I tried to explain in my *Erkenntnis und Illusion* (Knowledge and Illusion), Hamburg 1979.

In view of this body of research what is practised in esoteric circles, printed in the gutter Press and featured on TV with Las Vegas show biz glamour need not be believed but must not be dismissed out of hand as stuff and nonsense.

It is all that remains of an ancient *astral mythology*. Often barely understood by its practitioners, it testifies to a religion of the stars that is of considerable importance in the context of *Geistesgeschichte*.

It is rooted in prehistory and first appears in recorded history in Mesopotamia. Extending from there, it influenced the ancient civilisations of Persia, India, China and maybe even pre-Columbian America.

When, after Alexander the Great conquered Persia, the civilisations of Ancient Greece and the Orient merged into Hellenism, Oriental astral myths were influenced by Greek reason.

They were systematically arranged in more or less the form that to this day is the groundwork of astrology. Over the centuries belief in the stars has undermined the world's religions to a substantial extent.

In the Renaissance era, for instance, many bishops and cardinals more or less openly subscribed to astrology. So do many worldly leaders of the present day.

Not even Marxism is entirely immune to its influence. A few years ago the Communist government of Kerala, South India, twice postponed its official take-over of office because horoscopes for the day were not auspicious.

Yet despite this impressive effect on people and arguably events, belief in the stars is based mainly on a simple mechanism relying on names for groups of stars.

Probably way back in prehistory people began to give individual stars or groups of heavenly bodies names of objects and beings from their daily surroundings.

Alternatively, they chose names taken from their myths, one way or the other projecting their way of life or view of the world into the universe.

Because they failed to realise that this was all they were doing, they suddenly discovered that their own small world, the microcosm, was amazingly reflected by the larger world, the macrocosm.

In an unconscious inference drawn after the fact, is it were, they reached conclusions from what they felt they saw up above on their life down below.

Given that what existed up above also existed down below, and vice-versa, when armies and generals were in vogue the stars too were seen as warlords with their men.

To this day a German word for constellation translates as an "army of stars," while another astrological expression is derived from a rank in the Babylonian army.

In the Orient of old, astrology was an influential source of advice for the men who held power, and that was how it long remained.

The universe was also viewed in terms of the human body, a macro-anthropos, of which the body was a microcosm. This gigantic body was superimposed on the signs of the zodiac, with the head at Aries, when the year began, and the feet at Pisces, when it ended.

From this arrangement conclusions were drawn with reference to parts of the body and laid the groundwork for an entire system of astrological medicine known as iatro-mathematics.

But all these ideas have one crucial handicap. What man reads into the sky and out of it again is entirely coincidental and arbitrary.

You might just as well call a constellation the Bunch of Grapes and infer that everyone born under that sign of the zodiac had a predilection for the bottle.

There is also nothing to stop one from seeing the head of the macrocosmic giant as being located at the present New Year and not in spring, as it was in the Ancient World.

Yet this rejigs the entire basis of astrology, and there is no lack of reasons to indicate that astrology is built on a house of sand.

Astrologers and oracles have always sought to express their prophecies in riddles or in terms so vague that they were never ever completely wrong.

Astrology is thus an important and fascinating subject for research into the history of civilisation, but as a source of knowledge it is not only useless but at times downright dangerous.

It is not so much the enormous sums of money charlatans persuade the gullible to part company with year by year as the sick who fall prey to an astrological quack and are not given proper medical attention until it is too late.

Yet horoscopes, in keeping with other oracular prophecies, are frequently part of politics, especially psychological warfare. In the Ancient World prophecies not infrequently manipulated, the imminent death of an unwanted ruler being forecast, for example.

That was why casting a horoscope for the king or emperor was often prohibited. And little has changed in this respect.

Anxiety psychosis is easily stimulated by saying that the stars forestell some disaster or other.

Who has not heard that Nostradamus in 16th century France predicted that this year or next fire from the sky would engulf and destroy Western Europe!

Ernst Topitsch

(Rheinischer Merkur/Christ und Welt, 29 January 1982)

Professor Ernst Topitsch teaches sociology at Graz University, Austria.

Pennies from heaven

An increasing number of callers have rung the inland revenue in Hesse lately to ask whether horoscopes are tax-deductible.

Finance Minister Heribert Reitz chose to give an equivocal (some might say oracular) answer. "They are not," he said, "as a rule."

Why ask? On the Ides of March this year all the planets are in line with the Sun, which is such an ominous celestial event that tax returns can hardly fail to be a disaster.

But the bid to claw back a few pennies from the taxman is surely an endearing trait, all things considered. So here are a few words of advice read in the coffee grinds here at *Sonntagsblatt*.

On April Fool's Day Halley's comet will zoom past Orion at a most promising angle. A good day for submitting income tax returns!

A woman official at the inland revenue will be well disposed toward you, but she must be a Virgo.

For everyone born between 1 January and 31 December today is a good day to take out a subscription to a certain Sunday newspaper.

(Deutsches Allgemeines Sonntagsblatt, 31 January 1982)

APD heads for election win with star-quality leader

Germany's favourite TV quiz programme, compared by Josef Müller, mine host of the stale joke, is nearing its climax. Glamour girl Monika reads the final text:

"The year ahead is a year in which you would do well to bear in mind your reserves. Snap decisions will get you there, but don't overdo it; you might come a cropper.

"A breakthrough is not to be expected until later in the year. Confidence will make all the difference."

"Right, panel," says the compere. "Who said that?"

"The head of state in his New Year address?" guessed a panelist in a legal profession.

"No."

"The annual economic report of the Five Wise Men?"

"Not bad, but not quite. Sorry, no score. It was, ladies and gentlemen, the horoscope of a charming lady born under the sign Libra: the Federal Republic of Germany!"

As the panel suddenly realises what the line was, the band strikes up a fanfare, the velvet curtain opens and out comes in the star guest of the evening: Elisabeth Teissier, great-granddaughter of Nostradamus and Shadow Chancellor.

Stormy applause from the studio audience shows how popular the Shadow Chancellor and leader of the APD, or Astrological Party of Germany, is. She is rumoured to stand a fair chance of winning the next election.

Small wonder in an age when people are showing an increasingly keen interest in the stars and what they foretell!

More and more people have had little else to do since welfare spending cuts have cut ever closer to the bone, and there are millions who continually see stars.


Host of her own 'Astro-Show' and the APD's Shadow Chancellor, Elisabeth Teissier. (Photo: dpa)

For a declining band it is the Star of Bethlehem, for others it is a three-star meal or a five-star general. A sensational 54 per cent bank on sand, Jupiter, Mercury and Mme Teissier's other sources of information.

It was, first and foremost, the arts policy of the APD that made it so popular with the voters. A nation of viewers have taken to reading again.

Hundreds of thousands of magazine horoscopes, astrological weeklies and treatises are sold daily over newsagents' counters.

The new defence policy is also popular. Surrounded by Kremlin-gazers at Bochum Observatory, Mme Teissier recently announced that international disarmament was to be seen nowhere but in the stars.

This reassured people. They felt war and peace were no longer for unpredictable leaders in Moscow and Washington to decide. Mars had everything under control.

Ordinary people are particularly impressed by the honesty of Germany's foremost lady astrologer, who is not a woman to mince words.

She is not given to promising more than she can keep, and frankly admits that a government she led would not always be in a position to tell the truth.

It is refreshing to be told this without fear or fancy. Bonn governments since the days of Konrad Adenauer have always, on the quiet, at times made a point of pulling the wool over people's eyes.

Bernhard O. Prattler

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